1533

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The REVOLUTION in 1688.

In EIGHT VOLUMES, illuſtrated with Plates.

By DAVID HUME, Eſq.

A NEW EDITION, with the AUTHOR'S laſt CORRECTIONS and IMPROVEMENTS.

To which is prefixed,

A ſhort ACCOUNT of his LIFE, written by Himſelf.

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1533

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THE

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HENRY VIII.

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CHAP. XXVIII.

1515. Wolsey's administration.

THE numerous enemies whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence; who valued himself on supporting the choice which he had made,

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made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people, or to the discontents of the great. That artful prelate likewise, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant which he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind submission to the will and authority of his master. By entering into the king's pleasures, he preserved his affection; by conducting his business, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaisance in both capacities, he prevented all that jealousy to which his exorbitant acquisitions, and his splendid ostentatious train of life, should naturally have given birth. The archbishopric of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolsey was promoted to that see, and resigned the bishopric of Lincoln. Besides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he got possession, on easy leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by yielding a considerable share of their income. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. His farther advancement in ecclesiastical dignity served him as a pretence for engrossing still more revenues: The pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. No churchman, under colour of exacting respect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: Some even of the nobility put their children into his fa-

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mily as a place of education; and in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Whoever was diftinguifhed by any art or fcience paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public inftitutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition [a]. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wife, he ftrove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the fplendour of his equipage and furniture, the coftly embroidery of his liveries, the luftre of his apparel. He was the firft clergyman in England that wore filk and gold, not only on his habit, but alfo on his faddles and the trappings of his horfes [b]. He caufed his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a perfon of rank; and when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A prieft, the talleft and moft comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of filver, on whofe top was placed a crofs: But not fatisfied with this parade, to which he thought himfelf entitled as cardinal, he provided another prieft of equal ftature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the crofs of York, even in the diocefe of Canterbury; contrary to the ancient rule and the agreement between the prelates of thefe rival fees [c]. The people made merry with the cardinal's oftentation; and faid they were now fenfible, that one crucifix alone was not fufficient for the expiation of his fins and offences.

Warham, chancellor and archbifhop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averfe to all difputes, chofe rather to retire from public employ-

[a] Erafm. Epift. lib. 2. epift. 1. lib. 16. epift. 3.
[b] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 501. Hollingfhed, p. 847.
[c] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

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ment, than maintain an unequal conteſt with the haughty cardinal. He reſigned his office of chancellor; and the great ſeal was immediately delivered to Wolſey. If this new accumulation of dignity increaſed his enemies, it alſo ſerved to exalt his perſonal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever diſcovered greater impartiality in his deciſions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity [d].

THE duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almoſt entirely exhauſted by projects and pleaſures, while his inclination for expence ſtill continued, was glad to reſign his office of treaſurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, reaped no advantage from his abſence; but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly diſguſted at the aſcendant acquired by Wolſey, withdrew himſelf wholly to the care of his dioceſe. The duke of Suffolk had alſo taken offence that the king, by the cardinal's perſuaſion, had refuſed to pay a debt which he had contracted during his reſidence in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. Theſe incidents left Wolſey to enjoy, without a rival, the whole power and favour of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king "not to ſuffer the ſervant to "be greater than his maſter:" Henry replied, "that he well knew how to retain all his ſubjects in "obedience;" but he continued ſtill an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counſels of the cardinal.

THE public tranquillity was ſo well eſtabliſhed in England, the obedience of the people ſo entire, the

[d] Sir Thomas More. Stowe, p. 504.

general

general administration of justice by the cardinal's means [e] so exact, that no domestic occurrence happened considerable enough to disturb the repose of the king and his minister: They might even have dispensed with giving any strict attention to foreign affairs, were it possible for men to enjoy any situation in absolute tranquillity, or abstain from projects and enterprises, however fruitless and unnecessary. CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

Scotch affairs.

THE will of the late king of Scotland, who left his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the convention of states, which confirmed that destination, had expresly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried [f]: But notwithstanding this limitation, a few months after her husband's death, she espoused the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a young nobleman of great family and promising hopes. Some of the nobility now proposed the electing of Angus to the regency, and recommended this choice as the most likely means of preserving peace with England: But the jealousy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglasses, begat opposition to the measure. Lord Hume, in particular, the most powerful chieftain in the kingdom, insisted on recalling the duke of Albany, son to a brother of James III. who had been banished into France, and who, having there married, had left posterity that were the next heirs to the crown, and the nearest relations to their young sovereign. Albany, though first prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of their situation, unpractised in their language; yet such was the favour attending the French alliance, and so great the authority of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept

[e] Erasm. lib. 2. epist. 1. Cavendish. Hall.
[f] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Herbert.

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the reins of government. Francis, careful not to give offence to the king of England, detained Albany ſome time in France; but at length, ſenſible how important it was to keep Scotland in his intereſts, he permitted him to go over and take poſſeſſion of the regency: He even renewed the ancient league with that kingdom, though it implied ſuch a cloſe connexion as might be thought ſomewhat to intrench on his alliance with England.

WHEN the regent arrived in Scotland, he made inquiries concerning the ſtate of the country, and character of the people; and he diſcovered a ſcene with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be conſidered as a confederacy, and that not a cloſe one, of petty princes, than a regular ſyſtem of civil polity; and even the king, much more a regent, poſſeſſed an authority very uncertain and precarious. Arms more than laws prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity or juſtice, was the virtue moſt valued and reſpected. The nobility, in whom the whole power reſided, were ſo connected by hereditary alliances, or ſo divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impoſſible, without employing an armed force, either to puniſh the moſt flagrant guilt, or give ſecurity to the moſt entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exerciſed on a hoſtile tribe, inſtead of making a perſon odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their eſteem and approbation; and by rendering him uſeful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And though the neceſſity of mutual ſupport ſerved as a cloſe cement of amity among thoſe of the ſame kindred, the ſpirit of revenge againſt enemies, and the deſire of proſecuting the deadly feuds (ſo they were called) ſtill appeared to be paſſions the moſt predominant among that uncultivated people.

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THE persons to whom Albany on his arrival first applied for information with regard to the state of the country, happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume[g]; and they represented that powerful nobleman as the chief source of public disorders, and the great obstacle to the execution of the laws and the administration of justice. Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary, they said, to make an example of this great offender; and by the terror of his punishment, teach all lesser criminals to pay respect to the power of their sovereign. Albany, moved by these reasons, was induced to forget Hume's past services, to which he had in a great measure been indebted for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favourable countenance with which he was wont to receive him. Hume perceived the alteration, and was incited, both by regard to his own safety, and from motives of revenge, to take measures in opposition to the regent. He applied himself to Angus and the queen-dowager, and represented to them the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the ambition of Albany, next heir to the crown, to whom the states had imprudently entrusted the whole authority of government. By his persuasion Margaret formed the design of carrying off the young king, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and when that conspiracy was detected, she herself, attended by Hume and Angus, withdrew into England, where she was soon after delivered of a daughter.

HENRY, in order to check the authority of Albany and the French party, gave encouragement to these malcontents, and assured them of his support. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that noble-

[g] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond.

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man returned into his own country; but mutual suspicions and jealousies still prevailed. He was committed to custody, under the care of the earl of Arran his brother-in-law; and was for some time detained prisoner in his castle. But having persuaded Arran to enter into the conspiracy with him, he was allowed to make his escape; and he openly levied war upon the regent. A new accommodation ensued, not more sincere than the foregoing; and Hume was so imprudent as to entrust himself, together with his brother, into the hands of that prince. They were immediately seized, committed to custody, brought to trial, condemned and executed. No legal crime was proved against these brothers: It was only alleged, that at the battle of Flouden they had not done their duty in supporting the king; and as this backwardness could not, from the course of their past life, be ascribed to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidence, however, of guilt produced against them was far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while living, were much dissatisfied with their execution.

Such violent remedies often produce, for some time, a deceitful tranquillity; but as they destroy mutual confidence, and beget the most inveterate animosities, their consequences are commonly fatal, both to the public and to those who have recourse to them. The regent, however, took advantage of the present calm which prevailed; and being invited over by the French king, who was at that time willing to gratify Henry, he went into France; and was engaged to remain there for some years. During the absence of the regent some confusions prevailed in Scotland, and such mutual enmity, rapine, and violence among the great families, that that kingdom was for a long time utterly disabled, both from offending its enemies and assisting its friends. We have carried

carried on the Scottish history some years beyond the present period; that, as that country had little connection with the general system of Europe, we might be the less interrupted in the narration of those more memorable events which were transacted in the other kingdoms. 1515.

It was foreseen, that a young active prince like Francis, and of so martial a disposition, would soon employ the great preparations which his predecessor before his death had made for the conquest of Milan. He had been observed even to weep at the recital of the military exploits of Gaston de Foix; and these tears of emulation were held to be sure presages of his future valour. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry; and having left every thing secure behind him, he marched his armies towards the south of France; pretending that his sole purpose was to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. This formidable people still retained their animosity against France; and having taken Maximilian duke of Milan under his protection, and in reality reduced him to absolute dependance, they were determined, from views both of honour and of interest, to defend him against the invader[h]. They fortified themselves in all those vallies of the Alps through which they thought the French must necessarily pass; and when Francis, with great secresy, industry, and perseverance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another passage, they were not dismayed, but descended into the plain, though unprovided with cavalry, and opposed themselves to the progress of the French arms. At Marignan, near Milan, they fought with Francis one of the most furious and best contested battles that is to be met with in the history of those later ages; and it required all the

Progress of Francis I.

13th Sept.

[h] Memoires du Bellai, lib. 1. Guicciardini, lib. 12.

heroic

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heroic valour of this prince to inſpire his troops with courage ſufficient to reſiſt the deſperate aſſault of thoſe mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkneſs parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiſs renewed the attack with unabated ardour; and it was not till they had loſt all their braveſt troops that they could be prevailed on to retire. The field was ſtrowed with twenty thouſand ſlain on both ſides; and the mareſchal Trivulzio, who had been preſent at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement which he had yet ſeen was only the play of children; the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes[i]. After this great victory, the conqueſt of the Milaneſe was eaſy and open to Francis.

Jealouſy of Henry.

THE ſucceſs and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealouſy in Henry; and his rapid progreſs, though in ſo diſtant a country, was not regarded without apprehenſions by the Engliſh miniſtry. Italy was, during that age, the ſeat of religion, of literature, and of commerce; and as it poſſeſſed alone that luſtre which has ſince been ſhared out among other nations, it attracted the attention of all Europe, and every acquiſition which was made there appeared more important than its weight in the balance of power was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, entitled to. Henry alſo thought that he had reaſon to complain of Francis for ſending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his ſiſter the queen dowager[k]. The repairing of the fortifications of Teroüenne was likewiſe regarded as a breach of treaty. But above all, what tended to alienate the court of England, was the diſguſt which Wolſey had entertained againſt the French monarch.

HENRY, on the conqueſt of Tournay, had refuſed to admit Lewis Gaillart, the biſhop elect, to the

[i] Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray.
[k] Pere Daniel, vol. iii. p. 31.

poſſeſſion

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possession of the temporalties, because that prelate declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new sovereign; and Wolsey was appointed, as above related, administrator of the bishopric. As the cardinal wished to obtain the free and undisturbed enjoyment of his revenue, he applied to Francis, and desired him to bestow on Gaillart some see of equal value in France, and to obtain his resignation of Tournay. Francis, who still hoped to recover possession of that city, and who feared that the full establishment of Wolsey in the bishopric would prove an obstacle to his purpose, had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the bishop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his settlement in the see. Wolsey, who expected to be indulged in every request, and who exacted respect from the greatest princes, resented the slight put upon him by Francis; and he pushed his master to seek an occasion of quarrel with that monarch[m].

Maximilian the emperor was ready to embrace every overture for a new enterprise; especially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was very greedy, very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard Pace, formerly secretary to cardinal Bambridge, and now secretary of state, was dispatched to the court of Vienna, and had a commission to propose some considerable payments to Maximilian[n]: He thence made a journey into Switzerland, and by like motives engaged some of the cantons to furnish troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a considerable army; but being repulsed from before Milan, he retreated with his army into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a sum of money, and thus excluded himself in some measure from all future access into Italy. And Henry found, that after ex-

[m] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.
[n] Petrus de Angleria, epist. 568.

pending

CHAP. XXVIII. 1515. pending five or six hundred thousand ducats in order to gratify his own and the cardinal's humour, he had only weakened his alliance with Francis, without diminishing the power of that prince.

There were many reasons which engaged the king not to proceed farther at present in his enmity against France: He could hope for assistance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was declining through age and infirmities; and a speedy period was looked for to the long and prosperous reign of that great monarch. Charles prince of Spain, sovereign of the Low Countries, desired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it so much in his power, if provoked, to obstruct his peaceable accession to that rich inheritance which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a close alliance with that monarchy °. Henry, therefore, was constrained to remain in tranquillity during some time; and seemed to give himself no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into some expence, by offering to make a resignation of the imperial crown in his favour. The artifice was too gross to succeed, even with a prince so little politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning that the sole view of that prince, in making him so liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

1516. While an universal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened which had been so long looked for, and from which such important consequences were expected, the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions. The more Charles advanced

° Guicciardini, lib. 12.

in power and authority, the more was Francis ſenſible of the neceſſity he himſelf lay under of gaining the confidence and friendſhip of Henry; and he took at laſt the only method by which he could obtain ſucceſs, the paying of court by preſents and flattery to the haughty cardinal. CHAP. XXVIII. 1516.

BONNIVET, admiral of France, was diſpatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his inſinuation and addreſs, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himſelf a place in Wolſey's good graces. After the ambaſſador had ſucceeded in his purpoſe, he took an opportunity of expreſſing his maſter's regret, that by miſtakes and miſapprehenſions he had been ſo unfortunate as to loſe a friendſhip which he ſo much valued as that of his eminence. Wolſey was not deaf to theſe honourable advances from ſo great a monarch; and he was thenceforth obſerved to expreſs himſelf on all occaſions in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his intereſts, Francis entered into ſuch confidence with him, that he aſked his advice even in his moſt ſecret affairs; and had recourſe to him in all difficult emergencies, as to an oracle of wiſdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no ſecret to the king of this private correſpondence; and Henry was ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of the great capacity of his miniſter, that he ſaid he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himſelf[p]. 1518.

WHEN matters ſeemed ſufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his maſter's deſire of recovering Tournay; and Wolſey immediately, without heſitation, engaged to effect his purpoſe. He took an opportunity of repreſenting to the king and council, that Tournay lay ſo remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, in caſe of war, to keep the communication open between theſe two places: That as it was ſituated

[p] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

on

CHAP. XXVIII. 1518.

on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to attacks from both these countries, and must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant: That even in time of peace it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government: And that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, and afforded little or no means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

Tournay ceded to France.

THESE reasons were of themselves convincing, and were sure of meeting with no opposition when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay; and in order to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it was very rare that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at considerable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article [q]: And lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishopric of Tournay.

THE French monarch having succeeded so well in this negotiation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more considerable advantages, by prac-

[q] Memoires du Bellai, lib. 1.

tising

tising on the vanity and self-conceit of the favourite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, consulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter *father, tutor, governor*, and professed the most unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All these caresses were preparatives to a negotiation for the delivery of Calais, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid for it; and if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular ill-will to Wolsey, on account of his being dispossessed of his employment, and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary a proposal met with a favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council: He was content to sound privately the opinion of the other ministers, by dropping hints in conversation, as if he thought Calais a useless burthen to the kingdom[r]: But when he found that all men were strongly rivetted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpose; and as he fell soon after into new connexions with the king of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

Wolsey appointed legate.

THE pride of Wolsey was now farther increased by a great accession of power and dignity. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into England, in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks; a danger which was become real, and was formidable to all Christendom, but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built so many interested projects, that it had lost all influence on the minds of men. The clergy refused to comply with Leo's demands: Campeggio was recalled; and the king desired of the pope that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legatine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even with

[r] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

suspend-

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suspending all the laws of the church during a twelvemonth. Wolsey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new display of that state and parade to which he was so much addicted. On solemn feast-days, he was not content with saying mass after the manner of the pope himself: Not only he had bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank superior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham the primate having written him a letter, in which he subscribed himself *your loving brother*, Wolsey complained of his presumption in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter:—"Know ye "not," said he, "that this man is drunk with too "much prosperity?"

His manner of exercising that office.

But Wolsey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office, which he called the legatine court; and as he was now, by means of the pope's commission and the king's favour, invested with all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be set to the authority of his new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquisitorial and censorial powers even over the laity, and directed it to inquire into all matters of conscience; into all conduct which had given scandal; into all actions which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was taken at this commission, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more disgusted, when they saw a man who indulged himself in pomp and pleasure, so severe in repressing the least appearance of licentiousness in others. But, to render his court more obnoxious, Wolsey made one John Allen judge in it, a person of scandalous life[a], whom he himself, as chancellor,

[a] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 125.

had, it is said, condemned for perjury: And as it is pretended, that this man either extorted fines from every one whom he was pleased to find guilty, or took bribes to drop prosecutions, men concluded, and with some appearance of reason, that he shared with the cardinal those wages of iniquity. The clergy, and in particular the monks, were exposed to this tyranny; and as the libertinism of their lives often gave a just handle against them, they were obliged to purchase an indemnity, by paying large sums of money to the legate or his judge. Not content with this authority, Wolsey pretended, by virtue of his commission, to assume the jurisdiction of all the bishops' courts; particularly that of judging of wills and testaments; and his decisions in those important points were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himself were pope, and as if the pope could absolutely dispose of every ecclesiastical preferment, he presented to whatever priories or benefices he pleased, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage in the nobility and gentry [t].

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No one durst carry to the king any complaint against these usurpations of Wolsey, till Warham ventured to inform him of the discontents of his people. Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter. "A man," said he, "is not so blind any "where as in his own house: But do you, father," added he to the primate, "go to Wolsey, and tell "him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual: It only served to augment Wolsey's enmity to Warham: But one London having prosecuted

[t] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. This whole narrative has been copied by all the historians from the author here cited: There are many circumstances, however, very suspicious, both because of the obvious partiality of the historian, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed.

 Allen,

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Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having convicted him of malverſation and iniquity, the clamour at laſt reached the king's ears; and he expreſſed ſuch diſpleaſure to the cardinal, as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

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While Henry, indulging himſelf in pleaſure and amuſement, entruſted the government of his kingdom to this imperious miniſter, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor died; a man who, of himſelf, was indeed of little conſequence; but as his death left vacant the firſt ſtation among Chriſtian princes, it ſet the paſſions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of æra in the general ſyſtem of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themſelves candidates for the Imperial crown; and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promiſed them ſucceſs in ſo great a point of ambition. Henry alſo was encouraged to advance his pretenſions; but his miniſter, Pace, who was diſpatched to the electors, found that he began to ſolicit too late, and that the votes of all theſe princes were already pre-engaged either on one ſide or the other.

12th Jan. Death of the emperor Maximilian.

Francis and Charles made profeſſion from the beginning of carrying on this rivalſhip with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis in particular declared, that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, ſuitors to the ſame miſtreſs: The more fortunate, added he, will carry her; the other muſt reſt contented[u]. But all men apprehended, that this extreme moderation, however reaſonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to ſharpen the minds of the candidates againſt each other. It was Charles who at length prevailed, to the great diſguſt of the

Charles, king of Spain,

[u] Balcaria, lib. 16. Guicciardini, lib. 13.

French

French monarch, who ſtill continued to the laſt in the belief that the majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. And as he was ſome years ſuperior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan, and conqueſt of the Milaneſe, much ſuperior in renown, he could not ſuppreſs his indignation at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, diſappointed in ſo important a pretenſion. From this competition, as much as from oppoſition of intereſts, aroſe that emulation between thoſe two great monarchs; which, while it kept their whole age in movement, ſets them in ſo remarkable a contraſt to each other: Both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aſpiring, active, warlike; beloved by their ſervants and ſubjects, dreaded by their enemies, and reſpected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying theſe virtues to an exceſs which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, cloſe, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain ſucceſs in wars and in negociations, eſpecially the latter. The one the more amiable man; the other the greater monarch. The king, from his overſights and indiſcretions, naturally expoſed to misfortunes; but qualified by his ſpirit and magnanimity, to extricate himſelf from them with honour: The emperor, by his deſigning intereſted character, fitted, in his greateſt ſucceſſes, to excite jealouſy and oppoſition even among his allies, and to rouſe up a multitude of enemies in the place of one whom he had ſubdued. And as the perſonal qualities of theſe princes thus counterpoiſed each other, ſo did the advantages and diſadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up, of a ſudden, ſo great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the ſucceſſion of Caſtile, of Arragon, of Auſtria, of the Netherlands: He inherited the con-

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queſt of Naples, of Grenada: Election entitled him to the empire: Even the bounds of the globe ſeemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might poſſeſs the whole treaſure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. But though the concurrence of all theſe advantages formed an empire, greater and more extenſive than any known in Europe ſince that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being cloſe, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interpoſed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous oppoſition to his progreſs, and maintain the conteſt againſt him.

Henry poſſeſſed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its ſituation, to hold the balance between thoſe two powers; and had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, this ſingular and ineſtimable advantage, he was really by means of it, a greater potentate than either of thoſe mighty monarchs, who ſeemed to ſtrive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, heedleſs, inconſiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his paſſions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; ſometimes actuated by friendſhip for foreign powers, oftener by reſentment, ſeldom by his true intereſt. And thus, though he exulted in that ſuperiority which his ſituation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own eſſential and durable advantage, or to that of his kingdom.

1520. Interview between Henry and Francis at Calais.

Francis was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He ſolicited an interview near Calais; in expectation of being able, by familiar converſation, to gain upon his friendſhip and confidence. Wolſey earneſtly ſeconded this propoſal; and hoped, in the preſence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his ſplendour, and his influence over both monarchs,

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monarchs[w]. And as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations vied with each other in pomp and expence: Many of them involved themselves in great debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain splendour of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was somewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this festival amount to immense sums, threw out some expressions of displeasure against the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that measure[x]: An imprudence which was not forgotten by this minister.

The emperor Charles arrives in England 25th May.

WHILE Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he heard that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately hastened thither with the queen, in order to give a suitable reception to his royal guest. That great prince, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and was resolved to take the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king still a higher compliment, by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he strove, by every testimony of friendship, by flattery, protestations, promises, and presents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the cardinal. He here instilled into this aspiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and as that was the sole point of elevation beyond his present greatness, it was sure to attract his wishes with the same ardour as if fortune had never yet favoured him with any of her presents. In confidence of

w Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.
x Ibid. Herbert. Holingshed, p. 855.

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30th May. THE day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guiſnes, a ſmall town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles diſtant; and the two monarchs met, for the firſt time, in the fields, at a place ſituated between theſe two towns, but ſtill within the Engliſh pale: For Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in conſideration of that prince's paſſing the ſea that he might be preſent at the interview. Wolſey, to whom both kings had entruſted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumſtance, in order to do honour to his maſter. The nobility both of France and England here diſplayed their magnificence with ſuch emulation and profuſe expence, as procured to the place of interview the name of *the field of the cloth of gold.*

THE two monarchs, after ſaluting each other in the moſt cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpoſe, and they held a ſecret conference together. Henry here propoſed to make ſome amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, *I Henry King:* Theſe were the firſt words; and he ſtopped a moment. He ſubjoined only the words *of England,* without adding *France,* the uſual ſtyle of the

English monarchs[y]. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed by a smile his approbation of it. CHAP. XXVIII.

He took an opportunity soon after of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honour himself, and incapable of distrusting others, was shocked at all the precautions which were observed, whenever he had an interview with the English monarch: The number of their guards and attendants was carefully reckoned on both sides: Every step was scrupulously measured and adjusted: And if the two kings intended to pay a visit to the queens, they departed from their respective quarters at the same instant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they passed each other in the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, which contained so many dishonourable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guisnes. The guards were surprised at the presence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, *You are all my prisoners: Carry me to your master.* Henry was equally astonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," said he, "you have here played me the most agreeable "trick in the world, and have showed me the full "confidence I may place in you: I surrender my-"self your prisoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls worth 15,000 angels[z]; and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet, of which he made him a present, and 1520.

[y] Memoires de Fleuranges.

[z] An angel was then estimated at seven shillings, or near twelve of our present money.

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A DEFIANCE had been ſent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to anſwer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horſeback, Francis ſurrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with thoſe of Francis. They were gorgeouſly apparelled; and were both of them the moſt comely perſonages of their age, as well as the moſt expert in every military exerciſe. They carried away the prize at all trials in thoſe rough and dangerous paſtimes; and ſeveral horſes and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in theſe feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter, whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a ſpacious houſe of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he there feaſted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an Engliſh archer embroidered on it, *Cui adhæreo præeſt*; *He prevails whom I favour*[b]: Expreſſing his own ſituation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In theſe entertainments, more than in any ſerious buſineſs, did the two kings paſs their time, till their departure.

24th June. HENRY paid then a viſit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and paſs ſome

[a] Memoires de Fleuranges. [b] Mezeray.

days

days in that fortreſs. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impreſſion, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendſhip to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. As the houſe of Auſtria began ſenſibly to take the aſcendant over the French monarchy, the intereſts of England required, that ſome ſupport ſhould be given to the latter, and, above all, that any important wars ſhould be prevented, which might beſtow on either of them a deciſive ſuperiority over the other. But the jealouſy of the Engliſh againſt France has uſually prevented a cordial union between theſe nations: And Charles, ſenſible of this hereditary animoſity, and deſirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur), that he ſhould be entirely arbiter in any diſpute or difference that might ariſe between the monarchs. But the maſter-piece of Charles's politics was the ſecuring of Wolſey in his intereſts, by very important ſervices, and ſtill higher promiſes. He renewed aſſurances of aſſiſting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in preſent poſſeſſion of the revenues belonging to the ſees of Badajox and Placencia in Caſtile. The acquiſitions of Wolſey were now become ſo exorbitant, that, joined to the penſions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him to poſſeſs, his revenues were computed nearly equal to thoſe which belonged to the crown itſelf; and he ſpent them with a magnificence, or rather an oſtentation, which gave general offence to the people, and even leſſened his maſter in the eyes of all foreign nations [c].

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War between Charles and Francis.

THE violent perſonal emulation and political jealouſy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king ſoon broke out in hoſtilities.

c Polydore Virgil. Hall.

But

CHAP. XXVIII. 1521. But while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both of them incessantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. Mediation of Henry. The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negociate a peace under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprised of the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable, as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. He required the restitution of Burgundy, a province which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his possession, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom: And he demanded to be freed from the homage which his ancestors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and which he himself had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting these terms, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolsey, soon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met 4th Nov. with the emperor. He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with the the pope and the emperor against France. He stipulated, that England should next summer invade that kingdom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the result of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

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THE people saw every day new instances of the uncontrolled authority of this minister. The duke of Buckingham, constable of England, the first nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had imprudently given disgust to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reason to repent of his indiscretion. He seems to have been a man full of levity and rash projects; and being infatuated with judicial astrology, he entertained a commerce with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England. He was descended by a female from the duke of Glocester, youngest son of Edward III.; and though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been so unguarded as to let fall some expressions, as if he thought himself best intitled, in case the king should die without issue, to possess the royal dignity. He had not even abstained from threats against the king's life, and had provided himself with arms, which he intended to employ, in case a favourable opportunity should offer. He was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whose son, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord steward, in order to preside at this solemn procedure. The jury consisted of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict against Buckingham, which was soon after carried into execution. There is no reason to think the sentence unjust[d]; but as Buckingham's crimes seem to proceed more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, the people, who loved him, expected that the king would grant him a pardon, and imputed their disappointment to the animosity and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own jealousy,

Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham.

[d] Herbert. Hall. Stowe, 513. Hollingshed, p. 862.

however,

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however, of all perſons allied to the crown, was, notwithſtanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole courſe of his reign; and was alone ſufficient to render him implacable againſt Buckingham. The office of conſtable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

CHAP. XXIX.

Digression concerning the ecclesiastical state——Origin of the reformation——Martin Luther——Henry receives the title of defender of the faith——Causes of the progress of the reformation——War with France——Invasion of France——War with Scotland——A parliament——Invasion of France——Italian wars——The king of France invades Italy——Battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis——Francis recovers his liberty——Sack of Rome——League with France.

DURING some years, many parts of Europe had been agitated with those religious controversies which produced the reformation, one of the greatest events in history: But as it was not till this time that the king of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occasion to give any account of its rise and progress. It will now be necessary to explain these theological disputes; or, what is more material, to trace from their origin those abuses which so generally diffused the opinion, that a reformation of the church, or ecclesiastical order, was become highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary. We shall be better enabled to comprehend the subject, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reasons why there must be an ecclesiastical order and a public establishment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the present occasion will, I hope, excuse this short digression.

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Most

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Digreſſion concerning the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

Most of the arts and profeſſions in a ſtate are of ſuch a nature, that, while they promote the intereſts of the ſociety, they are alſo uſeful or agreeable to ſome individuals; and in that caſe, the conſtant rule of the magiſtrate, except, perhaps, on the firſt introduction of any art, is, to leave the profeſſion to itſelf, and truſt its encouragement to thoſe who reap the benefit of it. The artizans, finding their profits to riſe by the favour of their cuſtomers, increaſe, as much as poſſible, their ſkill and induſtry; and as matters are not diſturbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always ſure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand.

But there are alſo ſome callings which, though uſeful and even neceſſary in a ſtate, bring no particular advantage or pleaſure to any individual; and the ſupreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of thoſe profeſſions. It muſt give them public encouragement in order to their ſubſiſtence; and it muſt provide againſt that negligence, to which they will naturally be ſubject, either by annexing peculiar honours to the profeſſion, by eſtabliſhing a long ſubordination of ranks and a ſtrict dependance, or by ſome other expedient. The perſons employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magiſtracy, are inſtances of this order of men.

It may naturally be thought, at firſt ſight, that the eccleſiaſtics belong to the firſt claſs, and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and phyſicians, may ſafely be entruſted to the liberality of individuals, who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or conſolation from their ſpiritual miniſtry and aſſiſtance. Their induſtry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by ſuch an additional motive; and their ſkill in their profeſſion, as well as their addreſs in governing the minds of the people, muſt receive daily increaſe, from their increaſing practice, ſtudy, and attention.

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But if we consider the matter more closely, we shall find, that this interested diligence of the clergy is what every wise legislator will study to prevent; because in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by infusing into it a strong mixture of superstition, folly, and delusion. Each ghostly practitioner, in order to render himself more precious and sacred in the eyes of his retainers, will inspire them with the most violent abhorrence of all other sects, and continually endeavour, by some novelty, to excite the languid devotion of his audience. No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency, in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be adopted that bests suits the disorderly affections of the human frame. Customers will be drawn to each conventicle by new industry and address, in practising on the passions and credulity of the populace. And in the end, the civil magistrate will find, that he has dearly paid for his pretended frugality, in saving a fixed establishment for the priests; and that in reality the most decent and advantageous composition, which he can make with the spiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by assigning stated salaries to their profession, and rendering it superfluous for them to be farther active, than merely to prevent their flock from straying in quest of new pastures. And in this manner ecclesiastical establishments, though commonly they arose at first from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political interests of society.

But we may observe, that few ecclesiastical establishments have been fixed upon a worse foundation than that of the church of Rome, or have been attended with circumstances more hurtful to the peace and happiness of mankind.

The large revenues, privileges, immunities, and powers of the clergy rendered them formidable to the civil magistrate, and armed with too extensive authority

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authority an order of men, who always adhere closely together, and who never want a plausible pretence for their encroachments and usurpations. The higher dignities of the church served, indeed, to the support of gentry and nobility; but by the establishment of monasteries, many of the lowest vulgar were taken from the useful arts, and maintained in those receptacles of sloth and ignorance. The supreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, guided by interests always different from those of the community, sometimes contrary to them. And as the hierarchy was necessarily solicitous to preserve an unity of faith, rites, and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifest risque of being extinguished; and violent persecutions, or, what was worse, a stupid and abject credulity, took place every where.

To increase these evils, the church, though she possessed large revenues, was not contented with her acquisitions, but retained a power of practising farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even bestowed on each individual priest a power of enriching himself by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him still an urgent motive for diligence and industry in his calling. And thus, that church, though an expensive and burthensome establishment, was liable to many of the inconveniences which belong to an order of priests trusting entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a subsistence.

The advantages attending the Romish hierarchy were but a small compensation for its inconveniencies. The ecclesiastical privileges during barbarous times had served as a cheque on the despotism of kings. The union of all the western churches under the supreme pontiff facilitated the intercourse of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a close connexion with each other. And the pomp and splendour of worship

which

which belonged to ſo opulent an eſtabliſhment, contributed in ſome reſpect to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuſe a general elegance of taſte, by uniting it with religion. CHAP. XXIX. 1521.

It will eaſily be conceived, that though the balance of evil prevailed in the Romiſh church, this was not the chief reaſon which produced the reformation. A concurrence of incidents muſt have contributed to forward that great revolution.

Leo X. by his generous and enterpriſing temper, had much exhauſted his treaſury, and was obliged to employ every invention which might yield money, in order to ſupport his projects, pleaſures, and liberalities. The ſcheme of ſelling indulgences was ſuggeſted to him, as an expedient which had often ſerved in former times to draw money from the Chriſtian world, and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was ſuppoſed, was poſſeſſed of a great ſtock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of all the ſaints, beyond what were employed in their own juſtification; and even to the merits of Chriſt himſelf, which were infinite and unbounded: And from this unexhauſted treaſury the pope might retain particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money, to be employed in pious purpoſes, in reſiſting the infidels, or ſubduing ſchiſmatics. When the money came into his exchequer, the greater part of it was uſually diverted to other purpoſes [e]. Origin of the reformation.

It is commonly believed that Leo, from the penetration of his genius, and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falſity of the doctrines which, as ſupreme pontiff, he was obliged by his intereſt to promote: It is the leſs wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit thoſe pious frauds which his predeceſſors, the

[e] Father Paul and Sleidan.

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moſt ignorant and credulous, had always, under plauſible pretences, made uſe of for their ſelfiſh purpoſes. He publiſhed the ſale of a general indulgence[f]; and as his expences had not only exhauſted his uſual revenue, but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the ſeveral branches of it were openly given away to particular perſons, who were entitled to levy the impoſition. The produce, particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was aſſigned to his ſiſter Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural ſon of Innocent VIII. and ſhe, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoeſe, once a merchant, now a biſhop, who ſtill retained all the lucrative arts of his former profeſſion[g]. The Auſtin friars had uſually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this truſt had derived both profit and conſideration: But Arcemboldi, fearing leſt practice might have taught them means to ſecrete the money[h], and expecting no extraordinary ſucceſs from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. Theſe monks, in order to prove themſelves worthy of the diſtinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of indulgences by the moſt unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head, which, though not more ridiculous than thoſe already received, were not as yet entirely familiar to the ears of the people[i]. To add to the ſcandal, the collectors of this revenue are ſaid to have lived very licentious lives, and to have ſpent in taverns, gaming-houſes, and places ſtill more infamous, the money which devout perſons had ſaved from their uſual expences, in order to purchaſe a remiſſion of their ſins[k].

[f] In 1517.
[g] Father Paul, Sleidan.
[h] Father Paul, lib. 1.
[i] See note [A] at the end of the volume.
[k] Father Paul, lib. i.

1521. Martin Luther.

ALL these circumstances might have given offence, but would have been attended with no event of any importance, had there not arisen a man qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittemberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses in the sale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves; and was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the pope, from which his adversaries derived their chief arguments against him[1]. Still as he enlarged his reading, in order to support these tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermon, conference; and daily increased the number of his disciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, roused from that lethargy in which they had so long sleeped, began to call in question the most ancient and most received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurisdiction: The republic of Zuric even reformed their church according to the new model: Many sovereigns of the empire, and the Imperial diet itself, showed a favourable disposition towards it: And Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect of which he was himself the founder, and which brought him a glory superior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

[1] Father Paul, Sleidan.

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The rumour of these innovations soon reached England; and as there still subsisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partisans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who in his writings spoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author: He opposed himself, therefore, to the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him: He even undertook to combat them with weapons not usually employed by monarchs, especially those in the flower of their age and force of their passions. He wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther; a performance which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard; and conferred on him the title of *defender of the faith*; an appellation still retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controversy, soon published an answer to Henry; and, without regard to the dignity of his antagonist, treated him with all the acrimony of style to which in the course of his polemics he had so long been accustomed. The king by this ill usage was still more prejudiced against the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the dispute[m]. And as the controversy became more illustrious by Henry's entering the lists, it drew still more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe.

Henry receives the title of defender of the faith.

[m] Father Paul, lib. 1.

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Causes of the progress of the reformation.

The quick and suprising progress of this bold sect, may justly in part be ascribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: Not that reason bore any considerable share in opening men's eyes with regard to the impostures of the Romish church: For of all branches of literature, philosophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the most inconsiderable progress; neither is there any instance that argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of absurdity with which superstition has every where overwhelmed them: Not to mention, that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence with which it was embraced, prove sufficiently that it owed not its success to reason and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progress in another manner. By means of that art the books of Luther and his sectaries, full of vehemence, declamation, and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, somewhat awakened from a profound sleep of so many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and scrupled less to tread in any unusual path which was opened to them. And as copies of the scriptures and other ancient monuments of the Christian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations which were introduced after the first centuries; and though argument and reasoning could not give conviction, an historical fact, well supported, was able to make impression on their understandings. Many of the powers, indeed, assumed by the church of Rome, were very ancient, and were prior to almost every political government established in Europe: But as the ecclesiastics would not agree to possess their privileges as matters of civil right, which time might render valid, but appealed still to a divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter; and they could,

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without much difficulty, perceive its defect in truth and authenticity.

In order to bestow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not satisfied with opposing the pretended divinity of the Romish church, and displaying the temporal inconveniencies of that establishment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their ancestors as abominable, detestable, damnable; foretold by sacred writ itself as the source of all wickedness and pollution. They denominated the pope antichrist, called his communion the scarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expressions which, however applied, were to be found in scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the most solid arguments. Excited by contest and persecution on the one hand, by success and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greatest extremity their opposition to the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied superstitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites, or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, inward vision, rapture, and extasy. The new sectaries, seized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and set at defiance all the anathemas and punishments with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

That the civil power, however, might afford them protection against the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable in some respect to the temporal authority of sovereigns. They inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally discontented; and they exhorted princes to reinstate themselves in those powers of which the encroaching spirit

ſpirit of the eccleſiaſtics, eſpecially of the ſovereign pontiff, had ſo long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monaſtic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to thoſe who were either tired of the obedience and chaſtity, or diſguſted with the licence in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the exceſſive riches, the idleneſs, the libertiniſm of the clergy; and pointed out their treaſures and revenues as lawful ſpoil to the firſt invader. And as the eccleſiaſtics had hitherto conducted a willing and a ſtupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controverſy, much more with every ſpecies of true literature, they were unable to defend themſelves againſt men armed with authorities, quotations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation or debate. Such were the advantages with which the reformers began their attack on the Romiſh hierarchy; and ſuch were the cauſes of their rapid and aſtoniſhing ſucceſs.

1ſt Dec. Leo X. whoſe overſights and too ſupine truſt in the profound ignorance of the people, had given riſe to this ſect, but whoſe ſound judgment, moderation, and temper, were well qualified to retard its progreſs, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book againſt Luther; and he was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. This man was fitted to gain on the reformers by the integrity, candour, and ſimplicity of manners which diſtinguiſhed his character; but ſo violent were their prejudices againſt the church, he rather hurt the cauſe by his imprudent exerciſe of thoſe virtues. He frankly confeſſed, that many abominable and deteſtable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this ſincere avowal he gave occaſion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff alſo, whoſe penetration was not equal

CHAP. XXIX. 1521. to his good intentions, was seduced to concur in that league which Charles and Henry had formed against France[n]; and he thereby augmented the scandal occasioned by the practice of so many preceding popes, who still made their spiritual arms subservient to political purposes.

1522. The emperor, who knew that Wolsey had received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the resentment of that haughty minister, was solicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this incident. 26th May. He paid another visit to England; and besides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the promises which he had made him, of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. Wolsey, sensible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promised a speedy vacancy, dissembled his resentment, and was willing to hope for a more prosperous issue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which some articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolsey for the revenue which they should lose by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter at London. After a stay of six weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he soon pacified the tumults which had arisen in his absence[o].

War with France. The king declared war against France; and this measure was founded on so little reason, that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel, but Francis's refusal to submit to his arbitration, and his sending Albany into Scotland. This last step

[n] Guicciardini, lib. 14. [o] Petrus de Angleria, epist. 765.

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had not been taken by the French king, till he was quite aſſured of Henry's reſolution to attack him. Surrey landed ſome troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and after laying waſte the country, he ſailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Britanny, which he took and plundered. The Engliſh merchants had great property in that place, which was no more ſpared by the ſoldiers than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral; and ſailed to Calais, where he took the command of the Engliſh army deſtined for the invaſion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries, under the command of the count de Buren, amounted in the whole to 18,000 men.

Invaſion of France.

THE French had made it a maxim in almoſt all their wars with the Engliſh ſince the reign of Charles V. never without great neceſſity to hazard a general engagement; and the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wiſe policy. He ſupplied the towns moſt expoſed, eſpecially Boulogne, Montreuil, Teroüenne, Hedin, with ſtrong garriſons and plenty of proviſions: He himſelf took poſt at Abbeville, with ſome Swiſs and French infantry, and a body of cavalry: The count of Guiſe encamped under Montreuil with ſix thouſand men. Theſe two bodies were in a ſituation to join upon occaſion; to throw ſupply into any town that was threatened; and to haraſs the Engliſh in every movement. Surrey, who was not provided with magazines, firſt divided his troops for the convenience of ſubſiſting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces, and laid ſiege to Hedin. But neither did he ſucceed in this enterpriſe. The garriſon made vigorous ſallies upon his army: The French forces aſſaulted him from without: Great rains fell: Fatigue and bad weather threw the ſoldiers into dyſen-

teries;

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teries: And Surrey was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter-quarters about the end of October. His rear guard was attacked at Pas in Artois, and five or ſix hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him maſter of one place within the French frontier.

The allies were more ſucceſsful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, loſt a great battle at Bicocca near Milan; and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not ſupplying Lautrec with money [p], was followed by the loſs of Genoa. The caſtle of Cremona was the ſole fortreſs in Italy which remained in the hands of the French.

Europe was now in ſuch a ſituation, and ſo connected by different alliances and intereſts, that it was almoſt impoſſible for war to be kindled in one part and not diffuſe itſelf throughout the whole: But of all the leagues among kingdoms, the cloſeſt was that which had ſo long ſubſiſted between France and Scotland; and the Engliſh, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain long unmoleſted on the northern frontier. No ſooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took meaſures for kindling a war with England; and he ſummoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Roſline [q]. He thence conducted the army ſouthwards into Annandale; and prepared to paſs the borders at Solway-Frith. But many of the nobility were diſguſted with the regent's adminiſtration; and obſerving that his connexions with Scotland were feeble in compariſon of thoſe which he maintained with France, they murmured that, for the ſake of foreign intereſts, their peace ſhould ſo often be diſturbed, and war during their king's mi-

War with Scotland.

[p] Guicciardini, lib. 14.

[q] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond, Pitſcottie.

nority

jority be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation, ſo much ſuperior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refuſed to advance any farther; and Albany, obſerving a general diſcontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with lord Dacres, warden of the Engliſh weſt marches. Soon after he departed for France; and leſt the oppoſite faction ſhould gather force in his abſence, he ſent thither before him the earl of Angus, huſband to the queen-dowager. 1522.

NEXT year Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's abſence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merſe and Teviotdale without oppoſition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them: The two Humes had been put to death: Angus was in a manner baniſhed: No nobleman of vigour or authority remained, who was qualified to aſſume the government: And the Engliſh monarch, who knew the diſtreſſed ſituation of the country, determined to puſh them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the ſenſe of their preſent weakneſs, to make a ſolemn renunciation of the French alliance, and to embrace that of England[r]. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heireſs of England, and their young monarch; an expedient which would for ever unite the two kingdoms[s]: And the queen-dowager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They ſaid that the intereſt of Scotland had too long been ſacrificed to thoſe of the French nation, who, whenever they found themſelves reduced to difficulties, called for the aſſiſtance of their allies; 1523.

[r] Buchanan, lib. 14. Herbert.

[s] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 39.

but

CHAP. XXIX. 1523. but were ready to abandon them as ſoon as they found their advantage in making peace with England: That where a ſmall ſtate entered into ſo cloſe a confederacy with a greater, it muſt always expect this treatment, as a conſequence of the unequal alliance; but there were peculiar circumſtances in the ſituation of the kingdoms which in the preſent caſe rendered it inevitable: That France was ſo diſtant and ſo divided from them by ſea, that ſhe ſcarcely could by any means, and never could in time, ſend ſuccours to the Scots, ſufficient to protect them againſt ravages from the neighbouring kingdom: That nature had in a manner formed an alliance between the two Britiſh nations; having incloſed them in the ſame iſland; given them the ſame manners, language, laws, and form of government; and prepared every thing for an intimate union between them: And that if national antipathies were aboliſhed, which would ſoon be the effect of peace, theſe two kingdoms, ſecured by the ocean and by their domeſtic force, could ſet at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever ſafe and unmoleſted.

The partiſans of the French alliance, on the other hand, ſaid, that the very reaſons which were urged in favour of a league with England, the vicinity of the kingdom and its ſuperior force, were the real cauſes why a ſincere and durable confederacy could never be formed with that hoſtile nation: That among neighbouring ſtates occaſions of quarrel were frequent; and the more powerful would be ſure to ſeize every frivolous pretence for oppreſſing the weaker, and reducing it to ſubjection: That as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almoſt perpetual between them, it was the intereſt of the Scots, if they wiſhed to maintain their independence, to preſerve their league with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter: That if they deſerted that old and ſalutary

ſary alliance on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their ancient enemies, ſtimulated both by intereſt and by paſſion, would ſoon invade them with ſuperior force, and bereave them of all their liberties: Or if they delayed the attack, the inſiduous peace, by making the Scots forget the uſe of arms, would only prepare the way for a ſlavery more certain and more irretrievable [s].

The arguments employed by the French party, being ſeconded by the natural prejudices of the people, ſeemed moſt prevalent: And when the regent himſelf, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the danger from the Engliſh fleet, at laſt appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that ſide. By authority of the convention of ſtates he aſſembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the Engliſh in the beginning of the campaign; and he led them ſouthwards towards the borders. But when they were paſſing the Tweed at the bridge of Melroſs, the Engliſh party raiſed again ſuch oppoſition, that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp oppoſite to Werk-caſtle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He ſent over ſome troops to beſiege this fortreſs, who made a breach in it, and ſtormed ſome of the outworks: But the regent, hearing of the approach of an Engliſh army, and diſcouraged by the advanced ſeaſon, thought proper to diſband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottiſh nation, agitated by their domeſtic factions, were not during ſeveral years in a condition to give any more diſturbance to England; and Henry had full leiſure to proſecute his deſigns on the continent.

[s] Buchanan, lib. 14.

THE

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THE reaſon why the war againſt France proceeded ſo ſlowly on the part of England, was the want of money. All the treaſures of Henry VII. were long ago diſſipated; the king's habits of expence ſtill remained, and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary charge of government, much more to his military enterpriſes. He had laſt year cauſed a general ſurvey to be made of the kingdom; the numbers of men, their years, profeſſion, ſtock, revenue [t]; and expreſſed great ſatisfaction on finding the nation ſo opulent. He then iſſued privy ſeals to the moſt wealthy, demanding loans of particular ſums: This act of power, though ſomewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practiſed by kings of England; and the people were now familiariſed to it. But Henry this year carried his authority much farther. He publiſhed an edict for a general tax upon his ſubjects, which he ſtill called a loan; and he levied five ſhillings in the pound upon the clergy, two ſhillings upon the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people; and was a precedent for the king's impoſing taxes without conſent of parliament.

15th April. A parliament.

HENRY ſoon after ſummoned a parliament, together with a convocation; and found neither of them in a diſpoſition to complain of the infringement of their privileges. It was only doubted how far they would carry their liberality to the king. Wolſey, who had undertaken the management of the affair, began with the convocation, in hopes that their example would influence the parliament to grant a large ſupply. He demanded a moiety of the eccleſiaſtical revenues to be levied in five years, or two ſhillings in the pound during that time; and though he met with oppoſition, he reprimanded the refractory members in ſuch ſevere terms, that his requeſt

[t] Herbert. Stowe, p. 514.

was

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was at laſt complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended by ſeveral of the nobility and prelates, came to the houſe of commons; and in a long and elaborate ſpeech laid before them the public neceſſities, the danger of an invaſion from Scotland, the affronts received from France, the league in which the king was engaged with the pope and the emperor; and he demanded a grant of 800,000 pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a ſum computed, from the late ſurvey or valuation, to be equal to four ſhillings in the pound of one year's revenue, or one ſhilling in the pound yearly, according to the diviſion propoſed[u]. So large a grant was unuſual from the commons; and though the cardinal's demand was ſeconded by ſir Thomas More the ſpeaker, and ſeveral other members attached to the court, the houſe could not be prevailed with to comply[w]. They only voted two ſhillings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a year and upwards; one ſhilling on all who poſſeſſed between twenty pounds and forty ſhillings a year; and on the other ſubjects above ſixteen years of age, a groat a-head. This laſt ſum was divided into two yearly payments; the former into four; and was not, therefore, at the utmoſt above ſixpence in the pound. The grant of the commons was but the moiety of the ſum demanded; and the cardinal, therefore, much mortified with the diſappointment, came again to the houſe, and deſired to reaſon with ſuch as refuſed to comply with the king's requeſt. He was told that it was a rule of the houſe never to reaſon but among themſelves; and his deſire was rejected. The commons, however, enlarged a little their former grant, and voted an impoſition of three ſhillings in the

[u] This ſurvey or valuation is liable to much ſuſpicion, as fixing the rents a greal deal too high; unleſs the ſum comprehend the revenues of all kinds, induſtry as well as land and money.

[w] Herbert. Stowe, p. 518. Parliamentary Hiſtory. Strype, vol. i. p. 49, 50.

pound

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pound on all poſſeſſed of fifty pounds a-year and upwards [x]. The proceedings of this houſe of commons evidently diſcover the humour of the times: They were extremely tenacious of their money, and refuſed a demand of the crown, which was far from being unreaſonable; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to paſs uncenſured, though its direct tendency was to ſubvert entirely the liberties of the people. The king was ſo diſſatisfied with this ſaving diſpoſition of the commons, that as he had not called a parliament during ſeven years before, he allowed ſeven more to elapſe before he ſummoned another: And on pretence of neceſſity he levied in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years [y]; a new invaſion of national privileges. Theſe irregularities were commonly aſcribed to the cardinal's counſels, who, truſting to the protection afforded him by his eccleſiaſtical character, was the leſs ſcrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

THAT ambitious prelate received this year a new diſappointment in his aſpiring views. The pope Adrian VI. died; and Clement VII. of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the Imperial party. Wolſey could now perceive the inſincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never ſecond his pretenſions to the papal chair. As he highly reſented this injury, he began thenceforth to eſtrange himſelf from the Imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his maſter and the French king. Meanwhile he concealed his diſguſt; and after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legatine powers which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement

[x] See note [B] at the end of the volume.
[y] Speed. Hall. Herbert.

knowing

knowing the importance of gaining his friendship, granted him a commission for life; and, by this unusual concession, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In some particulars Wolsey made a good use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich, the place of his nativity: He sought, all over Europe, for learned men to supply the chairs of these colleges: And, in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some smaller monasteries, and distributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the less difficult for him, because the Romish church began to perceive that she overabounded in monks, and that she wanted some supply of learning, in order to oppose the inquisitive, or rather disputative humour of the reformers.

THE confederacy against France seemed more formidable than ever on the opening of the campaign[z]. Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to desert the French alliance, and to form engagements for securing Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, in possession of the Milanese. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy, combined in the same measure. The emperor, in person, menaced France with a powerful invasion on the side of Guienne: The forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy: A numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy: But all these perils from foreign enemies were less threatening than a domestic conspiracy which had been formed, and which was now come to full maturity, against the French monarch.

CHARLES duke of Bourbon, constable of France, was a prince of the most shining merit; and, besides

[z] Guicciardini, lib. 14.

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distinguishing himself in many military enterprises, he was adorned with every accomplishment which became a person of his high station. His virtues, embellished with the graces of youth, had made such impression on Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, she made him proposals of marriage; and, meeting with a repulse, she formed schemes of unrelenting vengeance against him. She was a woman false, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had, by her capacity, which was considerable, acquired an absolute ascendant over her son. By her instigation Francis put many affronts on the constable, which it was difficult for a gallant spirit to endure; and, at last, he permitted Louise to prosecute a lawsuit against him, by which, on the most frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample possessions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

Bourbon, provoked at all these indignities, and thinking that, if any injuries could justify a man in rebelling against his prince and country, he must stand acquitted, had entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England[a]. Francis, pertinacious in his purpose of recovering the Milanese, had intended to lead his army in person into Italy; and Bourbon, who feigned sickness, in order to have a pretence for staying behind, purposed, as soon as the king should have passed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his design; but, as he was not expeditious enough in securing so dangerous a foe, the constable made his escape[b]; and, entering into the emperor's service, employed all the force of his enterprising spirit, and his

[a] Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2. [b] Belcarius, lib. 17.

great

great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native country. CHAP. XXIX.

1523.

THE king of England, desirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion; and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended by the lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen [c]. The English army, reinforced by some troops drawn from the garrison of Calais, amounted to about 12,000 men; and having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Buren, they prepared for an invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed; but that enterprise appearing difficult, it was thought more advisable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided with troops; the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infested the allied army in their march, and threw garrisons, with great expedition, into every town which was threatened by them. After coasting the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreüil, Dourlens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter-quarters in France; but Crequi threw himself into the town, and seemed resolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and success; and when he retreated over the bridge, they pursued him so hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along with him, and totally routed his army. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they besieged, and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they

24th Aug.

Invasion of France.

[c] Herbert.

CHAP. XXIX. 1523. proceeded to the river Oiſe, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great conſternation; till the duke of Vendôme haſtened with ſome forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being ſurrounded, and of being reduced to extremities during ſo advanced a ſeaſon, thought proper to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned: And the Engliſh and Flemings, without effecting any thing, retired into their reſpective countries.

FRANCE defended herſelf from the other invaſions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thouſand Lanſquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furſtenberg. The count of Guiſe, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppoſe to them but ſome militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garriſon-towns; and with his cavalry he kept the field, and ſo haraſſed the Germans, that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guiſe attacked them as they paſſed the Meuſe, put them into diſorder, and cut off the greater part of their rear.

THE emperor made great preparations on the ſide of Navarre; and though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it ſeemed now expoſed to danger from the powerful invaſion which threatened it. Charles beſieged Fontarabia, which a few years before had fallen into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he of a ſuddden raiſed the ſiege, and ſat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that ſtratagem, made a ſudden march, and threw himſelf into Bayonne, which he defended with ſuch vigour and courage, that the Spaniards were conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this ſide, had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, ſitten down in the winter ſeaſon before that city, well fortified and ſtrongly garriſoned. The

cowardice

cowardice or misconduct of the governor saved him from the shame of a new disappointment. The place was surrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finished this enterprise, put his troops into winter-quarters. 1523.

Italian wars.

So obstinate was Francis in prosecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithstanding these numerous invasions with which his kingdom was menaced on every side, he had determined to lead in person a powerful army to the conquest of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's conspiracy and escape stopped him at Lyons; and, fearing some insurrection in the kingdom, from the intrigues of a man so powerful and so much beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France, and to send forward his army under the command of admiral Bonnivet. The dutchy of Milan had been purposely left in a condition somewhat defenceless, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it, and thereby facilitating the enterprises of Bourbon; and no sooner had Bonnivet passed the Tesin, than the army of the league, and even Prosper Colonna, who commanded it, a prudent general, were in the utmost confusion. It is agreed, that if Bonnivet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole dutchy depends, would have opened its gates without resistance: But as he wasted his time in frivolous enterprises, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garrison, and to put the place in a posture of defence. Bonnivet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took possession of all the posts which commanded the passages to it. But the army of the league, meanwhile, was not unactive; and they so straitened and harassed the quarters of the French, that it seemed more likely the latter should themselves perish by famine, than reduce the city to that extremity. Sickness and 1524. fatigue and want had wasted them to such a degree, that they were ready to raise the blockade; and their

CHAP. XXIX. 1524.

their only hopes consisted in a great body of Swiss, which was levied for the service of the French king, and whose arrival was every day expected. But these mountaineers no sooner came within sight of the French camp, than they stopped from a sudden caprice and resentment; and, instead of joining Bonnivet, they sent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then served under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company[e]. After this desertion of the Swiss, Bonnivet had no other choice but that of making his retreat as fast as possible into France.

The French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines were satisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were resolved to prosecute their victory no farther. All these powers, especially Clement, had entertained a violent jealousy of the emperor's ambition; and their suspicions were extremely augmented when they saw him refuse the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged, and whose defence he had embraced[f]. They all concluded that he intended to put himself in possession of that important dutchy, and reduce Italy to subjection: Clement, in particular, actuated by this jealousy, proceeded so far in opposition to the emperor, that he sent orders to his nuncio at London, to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolsey, disgusted with the emperor, but still more actuated by vain-glory, was determined that he himself should have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France. Charles stipulated to supply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful

[e] Guicciardini, lib. 15. Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2.
[f] Guicciardini, lib. 15.

army,

1524.

army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thouſand crowns for the firſt month; after which, he might either chuſe to continue the ſame monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to poſſeſs theſe provinces with the title of king; but to hold them in fee of Henry as king of France. The dutchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles: The reſt of the kingdom to Henry.

THIS chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was moſt eaſily performed: Bourbon refuſed to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterpriſe, however, againſt Provence ſtill took place. A numerous army of Imperialiſts invaded that country, under his command and that of the marquis of Peſcara. They laid ſiege to Marſeilles, which, being weakly garriſoned, they expected to reduce in a little time: But the citizens defended themſelves with ſuch valour and obſtinacy, that Bourbon and Peſcara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themſelves under a neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and diſheartened, into Italy.

FRANCIS might now have enjoyed, in ſafety, the glory of repulſing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made for invading his kingdom: But, as he received intelligence that the king of England, diſcouraged by his former fruitleſs enterpriſes, and diſguſted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attempt on Picardy, his ancient ardour ſeized him for the conqueſt of Milan; and, notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wiſeſt counſellors, to lead his army into Italy.

The king of France invades Italy.

HE paſſed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no ſooner appeared in Piedmont than he threw the whole

CHAP. XXIX. 1524. whole Milanese into consternation. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi; and had Francis been so fortunate as to pursue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally dispersed[g]: But his ill fate led him to besiege Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt which the French king made to gain this important place proved fruitless. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but, by the vigilance of Leyva, new intrenchments were instantly thrown up behind the breaches: He attempted to divert the course of the Tesin, which ran by one side of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river destroyed, in one night, all the mounds which the soldiers, during a long time and with infinite labour, had been erecting. Fatigue, and the bad season (for it was the depth of
1525. winter), had wasted the French army. The Imperial generals, meanwhile, were not unactive. Pescara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, assembled forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and with the money, aided by his personal interest, levied a body of twelve thousand Lansquenets, with which he joined the Imperialists. This whole army advanced to raise the siege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

THE state of Europe was such, during that age, that, partly from want of commerce and industry every where, except in Italy and the Low-Countries, partly from the extensive privileges still possessed by the people in all the great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting money, the revenues of the princes were extremely narrow, and even the small armies which they kept on foot could not be regularly paid by them. The Imperial forces com-

[g] Guicciardini, lib. 15. Du Bellay, liv. 2.

manded

manded by Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy, exceeded not twenty thousand men; they were the only body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had not been able to levy any army for the invasion of France, either on the side of Spain or Flanders). Yet, so poor was that mighty monarch, that he could transmit no money for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the hopes of sharing the plunder of the French camp which had made them advance, and kept them to their standards. Had Francis raised the siege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they must immediately have disbanded; and he had obtained a complete victory without danger or bloodshed. But it was the character of this monarch to become obstinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and having once said, that he would take Pavia or perish before it, he was resolved rather to endure the utmost extremities than depart from this resolution.

24th Feb. Battle of Pavia, and captivity of Francis.

The Imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for several days, at last made a general assault, and broke into the intrenchments. Leyva sallied from the town, and increased the confusion among the besiegers. The Swiss infantry, contrary to their usual practice, behaved in a dastardly manner, and deserted their post. Francis's forces were put to the rout; and he himself, surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing seven men with his own hand, was at last obliged to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river. The few who escaped with their lives fell into the hands of the enemy.

The emperor received this news by Pennalosa, who passed through France by means of a safe-conduct granted him by the captive king. The moderation which he displayed on this occasion, had it

CHAP. XXIX. 1525. it been ſincere, would have done him honour. Inſtead of rejoicing, he expreſſed ſympathy with[a] Francis's ill fortune, and diſcovered his ſenſe of thoſe calamities to which the greateſt monarchs are expoſed[h]. He refuſed the city of Madrid permiſſion to make any public expreſſions of triumph; and ſaid that he reſerved all his exultation till he ſhould be able to obtain ſome victory over the infidels. He ſent orders to his frontier garriſons to commit no hoſtilities upon France. He ſpoke of concluding, immediately, a peace on reaſonable terms. But all this ſeeming moderation was only hypocriſy, ſo much the more dangerous as it was profound. And he was wholly occupied in forming ſchemes how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmoſt advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition by which, in all his actions, he was ever governed.

The ſame Pennaloſa, in paſſing through France, carried alſo a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then reſided at Lyons. It contained only theſe few words, *Madam, all is loſt, except our honour.* The princeſs was ſtruck with the greatneſs of the calamity. She ſaw the kingdom without a ſovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; ſurrounded on every ſide by implacable and victorious enemies: And her chief reſource, in her preſent diſtreſſes, were the hopes ſhe entertained of peace, and even of aſſiſtance from the king of England.

Had the king entered into the war againſt France from any concerted political views, it is evident that the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis were the moſt fortunate incidents that could have befallen him, and the only ones that could render his ſchemes effectual. While the war was

[a] Vera Hiſt. de Carl. V.

carried

carried on in the former feeble manner, without any decisive advantage, he might have been able to possess himself of some frontier town, or perhaps of a small territory, of which he could not have kept possession without expending much more than its value. By some signal calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of considerable provinces, or dismember that great monarchy, so affectionate to its own government and its own sovereigns. But as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, he was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him assistance in his present calamities; and, as the glory of generosity in raising a fallen enemy, concurred with his political interest, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures.

Henry embraces the alliance of France.

SOME disgusts also had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolsey; and that powerful minister waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the disappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealousy and suspicions. The emperor so ill supported the appearance of moderation, which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and, instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself *your affectionate son and cousin*; he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself *Charles*[i]. Wolsey also perceived a diminution in the caresses and professions with which the emperor's letters to

[i] Guicciardini, lib. 16.

him

CHAP. XXIX. 1525. him were formerly loaded; and this laſt imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of ſucceſs, was probably more dangerous to Charles's intereſts than the other.

Henry, though immediately determined to embrace new meaſures, was careful to ſave appearances in the change; and he cauſed rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis. He publicly diſmiſſed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithſtanding the war, to reſide at London[k]: But, upon the regent of France's ſubmiſſive applications to him, he again opened a correſpondence with her; and, beſides aſſuring her of his friendſhip and protection, he exacted a promiſe that ſhe never would conſent to the diſmembering of any province from the monarchy for her ſon's ranſom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterpriſe; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he diſpatched Tonſtal, biſhop of London, to Madrid, with propoſals for a powerful invaſion of France. He required that Charles ſhould immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in poſſeſſion of that province: And he demanded the payment of large ſums of money which that prince had borrowed from him in his laſt viſit at London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of theſe demands; and that he had as little inclination to make him maſter of ſuch conſiderable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

Tonstal, likewiſe, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his maſter that Charles, on his part, urged ſeveral complaints againſt England; and, in particular, was diſpleaſed with Henry, becauſe laſt year he had neither continued his monthly payments

[k] Du Bellay, liv. 3. Stowe, p. 221. Baker, p. 273.

to

to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his ſtipulations. Tonſtal added, that inſtead of expreſſing an intention to eſpouſe Mary when ſhe ſhould be of age, the emperor had hearkened to propoſals for marrying his niece Iſabella, princeſs of Portugal; and that he had entered into a ſeparate treaty with Francis, and ſeemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the ſucceſs with which fortune had crowned his arms.

30th Aug.

THE king, influenced by all theſe motives, concluded at Moore, his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her ſon his liberty on reaſonable conditions[1]: The regent alſo, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thouſand crowns, to be diſcharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thouſand crowns: After which Henry was to receive during life, a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand. A large preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns was alſo made to Wolſey for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the penſion granted him for relinquiſhing the adminiſtration of Tournay.

Diſcontents of the Engliſh.

MEANWHILE, Henry, foreſeeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was alſo determined to fill his treaſury by impoſitions upon his own ſubjects; and as the parliament had diſcovered ſome reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed, as is believed, the counſel of Wolſey, and reſolved to make uſe of his prerogative alone for that purpoſe. He iſſued commiſſions to all the counties of England for levying four ſhillings in the pound upon the clergy, three ſhillings and fourpence upon the laity; and ſo uncontrollable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, even under the ſlender pretence of a loan.

1 Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités de Leonard, tom. 2. Herbert.

But

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But he ſoon found that he had preſumed too far on the paſſive ſubmiſſion of his ſubjects. The people, diſpleaſed with an exaction beyond what was uſually levied in thoſe days, and farther diſguſted with the illegal method of impoſing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, oppoſition to the commiſſioners; and their refractory diſpoſition threatened a general inſurrection. Henry had the prudence to ſtop ſhort in that dangerous path into which he had entered. He ſent letters to all the counties, declaring that he meant no force by this laſt impoſition, and that he would take nothing from his ſubjects but by way of *benevolence*. He flattered himſelf that his condeſcenſion in employing that diſguiſe would ſatisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himſelf obnoxious to royal authority, by refuſing any payment required of him in this manner. But the ſpirit of oppoſition, once rouſed, could not ſo eaſily be quieted at pleaſure. A lawyer in the city, objecting the ſtatute of Richard III. by which benevolences were for ever aboliſhed, it was replied by the court, that Richard being an uſurper, and his parliament a factious aſſembly, his ſtatutes could not bind a lawful and *abſolute* monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace [m]. The judges even went ſo far as to affirm poſitively, that the king might exact, by commiſſion, any ſum he pleaſed; and the privy council gave a ready aſſent to this decree, which annihilated the moſt valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with ſuch formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolſey ſent for the mayor of London, and deſired to know what he was willing to give for the ſupply of his majeſty's neceſſities. The mayor ſeemed deſirous, before

[m] Herbert. Hall.

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he ſhould declare himſelf, to conſult the common council: But the cardinal required that he and all the aldermen ſhould ſeparately confer with himſelf about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed oppoſition. Matters, however, went not ſo ſmoothly in the country. An inſurrection was begun in ſome places; but as the people were not headed by any conſiderable perſon, it was eaſy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing perſuaſion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms and ſurrender themſelves priſoners. The king, finding it dangerous to puniſh criminals engaged in ſo popular a cauſe, was determined, notwithſtanding his violent imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the ſtar-chamber, where, after a ſevere charge brought againſt them by the king's council, the cardinal ſaid, "That, "notwithſtanding their grievous offence, the king, "in conſideration of their neceſſities, had granted "them his gracious pardon upon condition that "they would find ſureties for their future good be-"haviour." But they replying they had no ſureties, the cardinal firſt, and after him the duke of Norfolk, ſaid, that they would be bound for them. Upon which they were diſmiſſed [n].

THESE arbitrary impoſitions being imputed, though on what grounds is unknown, to the counſels of the cardinal, increaſed the general odium under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon being aſcribed to the king, was conſidered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the meaſure. But Wolſey, ſupported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without ſcruple, to violate all eccleſiaſtical privileges, which, during

[n] Herbert. Hall. Stowe, p. 525. Hollingſhed, p. 891.

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that age, were much more ſacred than civil; and, having once prevailed in that unuſual attempt of ſuppreſſing ſome monaſteries, he kept all the reſt in awe, and exerciſed over them an arbitrary juriſdiction. By his commiſſion as legate, he was impowered to viſit them, and reform them, and chaſtiſe their irregularities; and he employed his uſual agent, Allen, in the exerciſe of this authority. The religious houſes were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large ſums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppreſſion was carried ſo far that it reached at laſt the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints againſt his favourite. Wolſey had built a ſplendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York-place in Weſtminſter, for his own reſidence; but fearing the increaſe of envy on account of this magnificence, and deſirous to appeaſe the king, he made him a preſent of the building, and told him that, from the firſt, he had erected it for his uſe.

The abſolute authority poſſeſſed by the king, rendered his domeſtic government, both over his people and his miniſters, eaſy and expeditious: The conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application; and they were now brought to ſuch a ſituation, that it was no longer ſafe for England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of ſhort duration; and it was ſoon obvious to all the world, that his great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire more extenſive. The terms which he demanded of his priſoner were ſuch as muſt for ever have annihilated the power of France, and deſtroyed the balance of Europe. Theſe terms were propoſed to Francis ſoon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichitone; and as he had hitherto truſted ſomewhat to the emperor's generoſity, the diſappointment

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pointment excited in his breast the most lively indignation. He said, that he would rather live and die a prisoner, than agree to dismember his kingdom; and that even were he so base as to submit to such conditions, his subjects would never permit him to carry them into execution.

Francis removed to Madrid.

Francis was encouraged to persist in demanding more moderate terms, by the favourable accounts which he heard of Henry's dispositions towards him, and of the alarm which had seized all the chief powers in Italy upon his defeat and captivity. He was uneasy, however, to be so far distant from the emperor, with whom he must treat; and he expressed his desire (which was complied with) to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a personal interview would operate in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his ministers, might be found possessed of the same frankness of disposition by which he himself was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake. Partly from want of exercise, partly from reflections on his present melancholy situation, he fell into a languishing illness; which begat apprehensions in Charles, lest the death of his captive should bereave him of all those advantages which he purposed to extort from him. He then paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him, "You come, sir, to visit your prisoner." "No," replied the emperor, "I come to visit my "brother and my friend, who shall soon obtain his "liberty." He soothed his afflictions with many speeches of a like nature, which had so good an effect, that the king daily recovered [o]; and thenceforth employed himself in concerting with the ministers of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

[o] Herbert, De Vera, Sandoval.

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At last the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, was willing to abate somewhat of his rigour; and the treaty of Madrid was signed, by which it was hoped an end would be finally put to the differences between these great monarchs. The principal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy: If any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated, that in six weeks time he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them extremely severe upon the captive monarch; and Charles discovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to subjection and dependance.

Many of Charles's ministers foresaw that Francis, how solemn soever the oaths, promises, and protestations exacted of him, never would execute a treaty so disadvantageous, or rather ruinous and destructive, to himself, his posterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy, they thought, into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: By sacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himself of foreign assistance; and arming his oppressor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him absolutely irresistible. To these great views of interest were added the motives, no less cogent, of passion and resentment; while Francis, a prince who piqued himself on generosity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the severe terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his liberty. It was also foreseen, that the emulation and rivalship which had so long subsisted between these two monarchs, would make

him

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him feel the ſtrongeſt reluctance on yielding the ſuperiority to an antagoniſt, who, by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had ſhewn himſelf ſo little worthy of that advantage which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His miniſters, his friends, his ſubjects, his allies, would be ſure with one voice to inculcate on him, that the firſt object of a prince was the preſervation of his people; and that the laws of honour, which with a private man ought to be abſolutely ſupreme, and ſuperior to all intereſts, were with a ſovereign, ſubordinate to the great duty of enſuring the ſafety of his country. Nor could it be imagined that Francis would be ſo romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a caſuiſtry which was ſo plauſible in itſelf, and which ſo much flattered all the paſſions by which either as a prince or a man he was ſtrongly actuated.

March 18. Francis recovers his liberty.

Francis, on entering his own dominions, delivered his two eldeſt ſons as hoſtages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkiſh horſe, and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud ſeveral times, *I am yet a king*. He ſoon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and proteſting that he ſhould be entirely governed by his counſels in all tranſactions with the emperor. When the Spaniſh envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he declined the propoſal, under colour that it was previouſly neceſſary to aſſemble the ſtates both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their conſent. The ſtates of Burgundy ſoon met; and declaring againſt the clauſe which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expreſſed their reſolution of oppoſing, even by

CHAP. XXIX. 1526. force of arms, the execution of ſo ruinous and unjuſt an article. The Imperial miniſter then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, ſhould now return to his priſon; but the French monarch, inſtead of complying, made public the treaty which 22d May. a little before he had ſecretly concluded at Cognac, againſt the ambitious ſchemes and uſurpations of the emperor[p].

THE pope, the Venetians, and other Italian ſtates, who were deeply intereſted in theſe events, had been held in the moſt anxious ſuſpenſe with regard to the reſolutions which Francis ſhould take after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, in particular, who ſuſpected that this prince would never execute a treaty ſo hurtful to his intereſts, and even deſtructive of his independency, had very frankly offered him a diſpenſation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in ſuſpenſe, but entered immediately into the confederacy propoſed to him. It was ſtipulated by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiſs, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reaſonable ſum of money; and to reſtore Milan to Sforza, without farther condition or incumbrance. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the *holy league*, ſo it was called: And if Naples ſhould be conquered from the emperor, in proſecution of this confederacy, it was agreed that Henry ſhould enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of 30,000 ducats: And that cardinal Wolſey, in conſideration of the ſervices which he had rendered to Chriſtendom, ſhould alſo, in ſuch an event, be put in poſſeſſion of a revenue of 10,000 ducats.

[p] Guicciardini, lib. 17.

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FRANCIS was desirous that the appearance of this great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat in the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations; nor did he send in due time reinforcement to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so because Charles, destitute as usual of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himself killed as he was planting a scaling-ladder against the walls; but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the utmost valour, and entering the city sword in hand, exercised all those brutalities which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence which takes place when that resistance is no more. This renowned city, exposed by her renown alone to so many calamities, never endured in any age, even from the barbarians by whom she was often subdued, such indignities as she was now compelled to suffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage, which continued for several days, were the least ills to which the unhappy Romans were exposed[q]. Whatever was respectable in modesty, or sacred in religion, seemed but the more to provoke the insults of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their pa-

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6th May.

Sack of Rome.

[q] Guicciardini, lib. 18. Bellay. Stowe, p. 527.

 rents,

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rents, and upon those very altars to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the most cruel death, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms. Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make his escape in time, was taken captive; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the German, who being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrisy, expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms: He put himself and all his court in mourning: He stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip: And knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able, when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers during several months to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty; which all men knew a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

The concern expressed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally was more sincere. These two monarchs, a few days before the sack of Rome, had concluded a treaty[r] at Westminster, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and in case of refusal the ambassadors,

[r] 30th April.

attended

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attended by heralds, were ordered to denounce war against him. This war it was agreed to proſecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thouſand infantry, and fifteen hundred men at arms, two-thirds to be ſupplied by Francis, the reſt by Henry. And in order to ſtrengthen the alliance between the princes, it was ſtipulated that either Francis, or his ſon the duke of Orleans, as ſhould afterwards be agreed on, ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter. No ſooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterpriſe, than they changed, by a new treaty, the ſcene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther ſtimulated to undertake the war with vigour for reſtoring him to liberty. Wolſey himſelf croſſed the ſea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert meaſures for that purpoſe; and he diſplayed all that grandeur and magnificence with which he was ſo much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thouſand horſe. The cardinal of Lorraine and the chancellor Alençon met him at Boulogne; Francis himſelf, beſides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving in every place where he came liberty to all priſoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced ſome miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here ſtipulated, that the duke of Orleans ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary; and as the emperor ſeemed to be taking ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but during the interval of the pope's captivity to govern the churches in their reſpective dominions by their own authority. Wolſey made ſome attempts to get his legantine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but finding his efforts fruitleſs, he was obliged, though with

29th May.

11th July.

CHAP. XXIX. great reluctance, to desist from these ambitious enterprises[s].

1527. 18th Sept. THE more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was some time after concluded at London; in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretence for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French nation. League with France. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. The mareschal Montmorency, accompanied by many persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was sent over to ratify the treaty; and was received at London with all the parade which suited the solemnity of the occasion. The terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animosity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more distant power, the chief object of jealousy to the English.

THIS cordial union between France and England, though it added influence to the joint embassy which they sent to the emperor, was not able to bend that monarch to submit entirely to the conditions insisted on by the allies. He departed indeed from his demand of Burgundy as the ransom of the French princes; but he required, previously to their liberty, that Francis should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses held by him in Italy: And he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiscating the dutchy of Milan, on

[s] Burnet, book 3. col. 12, 13.

account

account of his pretended treaſon. The Engliſh and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war againſt him, and ſet him at defiance. Charles anſwered the Engliſh herald with moderation; but to the French he reproached his maſter with breach of faith, reminded him of the private converſation which had paſſed between them at Madrid before their ſeparation, and offered to prove, by ſingle combat, that he had acted diſhonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge, by giving Charles the lie; and after demanding ſecurity of the field, he offered to maintain his cauſe by ſingle combat. Many meſſages paſſed to and fro between them; but though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards during that age zealouſly diſputed which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, that the prince, the more candid, generous, and ſincere, ſhould by unhappy incidents have been reduced to ſo cruel a ſituation, that nothing but his violation of treaty could preſerve his people, and that he muſt ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with breach of promiſe by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and in virtue.

But though this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate conſequence with regard to theſe monarchs themſelves, it produced a conſiderable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous juriſprudence, which was ſtill preſerved on very ſolemn occaſions, and which was ſometimes countenanced by the civil magiſtrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the moſt trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themſelves entitled, or even required in honour,

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honour, to take revenge on their enemies, by openly vindicating their right in ſingle combat. Theſe abſurd, though generous maxims, ſhed much of the beſt blood in Chriſtendom during more than two centuries; and notwithſtanding the ſeverity of law and authority of reaſon, ſuch is the prevailing force of cuſtom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

CHAP. XXX.

Scruples concerning the king's marriage——The king enters into these scruples——Anne Boleyn——Henry applies to the pope for a divorce——The pope favourable——The emperor threatens him——The pope's ambiguous conduct——The cause evoked to Rome——Wolsey's fall——Commencement of the reformation in England——Foreign affairs——Wolsey's death——A parliament——Progress of the reformation——A parliament——King's final breach with Rome——A parliament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the submissive deference paid to papal authority before the reformation, the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not passed without much scruple and difficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had betrothed his son when that prince was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling the contract[t]. He ordered the young prince, as soon as he came of age, to enter a protestation against the marriage[u]; and on his death-bed he charged him, as his last injunction, not to finish an alliance so unusual, and

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[t] Morison's Apomaxis, p. 13.
[u] Morison, p. 13. Heylin's Queen Mary, p. 2.

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exposed to such insuperable objections. After the king's accession, some members of the privy council, particularly Warham the primate, openly declared against the resolution of completing the marriage; and though Henry's youth and dissipation kept him during some time from entertaining any scruples with regard to the measure which he had embraced, there happened incidents sufficient to rouse his attention, and to inform him of the sentiments generally entertained on that subject. The states of Castile had opposed the emperor Charles's espousals with Mary, Henry's daughter; and, among other objections, had insisted on the illegitimate birth of the young princess[w]. And when the negotiations were afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Tarbe, the French ambassador, revived the same objection[x]. But though these events naturally raised some doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other causes, which tended much to increase his remorse, and render his conscience more scrupulous.

The king enters into these scruples.

THE queen was older than the king by no less than six years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Though she had borne him several children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune, because the curse of being childless is the very threatening contained in the Mosaical law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The succession too of the crown was a consideration that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulness

[w] Lord Herbert, Fiddes's Life of Wolsey.
[x] Rymer, vol. xiv. 192, 203. Heylin, p. 3.

of

of Henry's marriage was called in queſtion; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakneſs of her ſex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretenſions, and might throw the kingdom into confuſion. The evils, as yet recent, of civil wars and convulſions ariſing from a diſputed title, made great impreſſion on the minds of men, and rendered the people univerſally deſirous of any event which might obviate ſo irreparable a calamity. And the king was thus impelled, both by his private paſſions, and by motives of public intereſt, to ſeek the diſſolution of his inauſpicious, and, as it was eſteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

HENRY afterwards affirmed that his ſcruples aroſe entirely from private reflection; and that, on conſulting his confeſſor the biſhop of Lincoln, he found the prelate poſſeſſed with the ſame doubts and difficulties. The king himſelf, being ſo great a caſuiſt and divine, next proceeded to examine the queſtion more carefully by his own learning and ſtudy; and having had recourſe to Thomas of Aquine, he obſerved that this celebrated doctor, whoſe authority was great in the church, and abſolute with him, had treated of that very caſe, and had expreſsly declared againſt the lawfulneſs of ſuch marriages[y]. The prohibitions, ſaid Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and among the reſt that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine ſanction; and though the pope may diſpenſe with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be ſet aſide by any authority leſs than that which enacted them. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was then applied to; and he was required to conſult his brethren: All the prelates of England, except Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, unanimouſly declared,

[y] Burnet, Fiddes.

under

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under their hand and ſeal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful[z]. Wolſey alſo fortified the king's ſcruples[a]; partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew; partly deſirous of connecting the king more cloſely with Francis, by marrying him to the dutcheſs of Alençon, ſiſter to that monarch; and perhaps, too, ſomewhat diſguſted with the queen herſelf, who had reproved him for certain freedoms unbefitting his character and ſtation[b]. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at firſt excited, by a motive more forcible than even the ſuggeſtions of that powerful favourite.

Anne Boleyn.

Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being ſeen by Henry, and of converſing with him, ſhe had acquired an entire aſcendant over his affections. This young lady, whoſe grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her ſo celebrated, was daughter of ſir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in ſeveral embaſſies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond; his grandfather ſir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had eſpouſed one of the daughters and co-heirs of lord Haſtings[c]. Anne herſelf, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's ſiſter, when the princeſs eſpouſed Lewis XII. of France; and upon the demiſe of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, this damſel, whoſe accompliſhments, even in her tender years, were always

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Stowe, p. 548.
[a] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 46. 166. 168. Saunders. Heylin, p. 4.
[b] Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Strype, vol. i. p. 88.
[c] Camden's Preface to the Life of Elizabeth. Burnet, vol. i. p. 44.

much

much admired, was retained in the ſervice of Claude queen of France, ſpouſe to Francis; and after the death of that princeſs ſhe paſſed into the family of the dutcheſs of Alençon, a woman of ſingular merit. The exact time when ſhe returned to England is not certainly known; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulneſs of his marriage with Catherine; if the account is to be credited which he himſelf afterwards gave of that tranſaction. Henry's ſcruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he ſtill ſupported an intercourſe of civility and friendſhip with her, he had occaſion, in the frequent viſits which he paid her, to obſerve the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accompliſhments of her mind no wiſe inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the deſign of raiſing her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this reſolution, when he found that her virtue and modeſty prevented all hopes of gratifying his paſſion in any other manner. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy ſeemed thus to concur in making the king deſirous of a divorce from Catherine, and as his proſpect of ſucceſs was inviting, he reſolved to make application to Clement, and he ſent Knight, his ſecretary, to Rome for that purpoſe.

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Henry applies to the pope for a divorce.

THAT he might not ſhock the haughty claims of the pontiff, he reſolved not to found the application on any general doubts concerning the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of conſanguinity; but only to inſiſt on particular grounds of nullity in the bull which Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that if the pope be ſurpriſed into any conceſſion, or grant any indulgence upon falſe ſuggeſtions, the bull may afterwards be annulled; and this pretence had uſually been employed whereever

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ever one pope had recalled any deed executed by any of his predeceſſors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded abundant matter of this kind; and any tribunal favourable to Henry needed not want a ſpecious colour for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was ſaid in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his ſolicitation; though it was known that at that time he was under twelve years of age: It was alſo affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requiſite, in order to preſerve peace between the two crowns; though it is certain that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. Theſe falſe premiſes in Julius's bull ſeem to afford Clement a ſufficient reaſon or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage [d].

The pope favourable.

BUT though the pretext for this indulgence had been leſs plauſible, the pope was in ſuch a ſituation that he had the ſtrongeſt motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the Engliſh monarch. He was then a priſoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reaſonable terms, except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppoſe the ambition of Charles. When the Engliſh ſecretary, therefore, ſolicited him in private, he received a very favourable anſwer; and a diſpenſation was forthwith promiſed to be granted to his maſter [e]. Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the Imperialiſts to reſtore Clement to his liberty; and he retired to Orvietto, where the ſecretary, with ſir Gregory Caſſali, the king's reſident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They ſtill found him full of high profeſſions

[d] Collier, Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 25. from the Cott. Lib. Vitel. p. 9.
[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 47.

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of friendſhip, gratitude, and attachment to the king; but not ſo prompt in granting his requeſt as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promiſe from the pope, to take no ſteps in the affair before he communicated them to the Imperial miniſters; and Clement, embarraſſed by this promiſe, and ſtill more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, ſeemed willing to poſtpone thoſe conceſſions deſired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the Engliſh miniſters, he at laſt put into their hands a *commiſſion* to Wolſey, as legate, in conjunction with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or any other Engliſh prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and of Julius's diſpenſation[f]: He alſo granted them a proviſional *diſpenſation* for the king's marriage with any other perſon; and promiſed to iſſue a *decretal bull*, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he repreſented to them the dangerous conſequences which muſt enſue to him, if theſe conceſſions ſhould come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publiſh thoſe papers, or make any farther uſe of them, till his affairs were in ſuch a ſituation as to ſecure his liberty and independance. And his ſecret advice was, whenever they ſhould find the proper time for opening the ſcene, that they ſhould prevent all oppoſition, by proceeding immediately to a concluſion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's inſtantly eſpouſing ſome other perſon. Nor would it be ſo difficult, he ſaid, for himſelf to confirm theſe proceedings after they were paſſed, as previouſly to render them valid by his conſent and authority[g].

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WHEN Henry received the commiſſion and diſpenſation from his ambaſſadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole before his

[f] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 237.
[g] Collier, from Cott. Lib. Vitell. B. 10.

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ministers, and asked their opinion in so delicate a situation. The English counsellors considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to ratify a deed, which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should he disavow the advice which he gave in so clandestine a manner, the king would find his second marriage totally invalidated; the children, which it might bring him, declared illegitimate; and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever[h]. And Henry's apprehensions of the possibility, or even probability, of such an event, were much confirmed when he reflected on the character and situation of the sovereign pontiff.

Clement was a prince of excellent judgment, whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely subject, allowed him to make full use of those talents and that penetration with which he was endowed[i]. The captivity and other misfortunes which he had undergone, by entering into a league against Charles, had so affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himself with vigour in any public measure; especially if the interest or inclinations of that potentate stood in opposition to him. The Imperial forces were at that time powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was still defenceless, and exposed to the same calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And besides these dangers, Clement fancied himself exposed to perils, which threatened still more immediately his person and his dignity.

The emperor threatens him.

Charles, apprised of the timid disposition of the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of summoning a general council; which he represented as necessary to reform the church, and correct those enormous abuses which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every

h Burnet, vol. i. p. 51. i Father Paul, lib. 1. Guicciardini.

branch of ecclefiaftical adminiftration. The power of the fovereign pontiff himfelf, he faid, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne which he filled might juftly be called in queftion. That pope had always paffed for the natural fon of Julian of Medicis, who was of the fovereign family of Florence; and though Leo X. his kinfman had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promife of marriage between his father and mother, few believed that declaration to be founded on any juft reafon or authority [k]. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely filent with regard to the promotion of baftards to the papal throne; but what was ftill dangerous, the people had entertained a violent prepoffeffion that this ftain in the birth of any perfon was incompatible with fo holy an office. And in another point, the canon law was exprefs and pofitive, that no man guilty of fimony could attain that dignity. A fevere bull of Julius II. had added new fanctions to this law, by declaring, that a fimoniacal election could not be rendered valid, even by a pofterior confent of the cardinals. But unfortunately Clement had given to cardinal Colonna a billet, containing promifes of advancing that cardinal, in cafe he himfelf fhould attain the papal dignity by his concurrence: And this billet, Colonna, who was in entire dependence on the emperor, threatened every moment to expofe to public view [l].

WHILE Charles terrified the pope with thefe menaces, he alfo allured him by hopes which were no lefs prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces facked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, paffionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his diftreffes, and, revolting againft the family of

[k] Father Paul, lib. i. [l] Ibid.

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Medicis, had entirely abolished their authority in Florence, and re-established the democracy. The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England, and Venice, against the emperor; and Clement found, that, by this interest, the hands of his confederates were tied from assisting him in the restoration of his family; the event which, of all others, he most passionately desired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effect this purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the least glimpse of hope, ready to embrace every proposal of a cordial reconciliation with that monarch [m].

These views and interests of the pope were well known in England; and as the opposition of the emperor to Henry's divorce was foreseen, both on account of the honour and interests of Catherine his aunt, and the obvious motive of distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dangerous to take any measure of consequence, in expectation of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whose behaviour always contained so much duplicity, and who was at present so little at his own disposal. The safest measure seemed to consist in previously engaging him so far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present ambiguity and uncertainty, to extort the most important concessions from him. For this purpose, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Edward Fox, 10th Feb. the king's almoner, were dispatched to Rome, and were ordered to solicit a commission from the pope, of such a nature as would oblige him to confirm the sentence of the commissioners, whatever it should be, and disable him on any account to recal the commission, or evoke the cause to Rome [n].

[m] Father Paul. [n] Lord Herbert. Burnet, vol. i. p. 29. in the collect. Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 28. Strype, vol. i. p. 93. with App. N° 23, 24, &c.

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The pope's ambiguous conduct.

But the same reasons which made the king so desirous of obtaining this concession, confirmed the pope in the resolution of refusing it: He was still determined to keep the door open for an agreement with the emperor; and he made no scruple of sacrificing all other considerations to a point which he deemed the most essential and important to his own security, and to the greatness of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commission, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolsey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to insert the clause desired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hand a letter promising not to recal the present commission; this promise was found, on examination, to be couched in such ambiguous terms as left him still the power, whenever he pleased, of departing from it[o].

Campeggio lay under some obligations to the king; but his dependence on the pope was so much greater, that he conformed himself entirely to the views of the latter; and though he received his commission in April, he delayed his departure under so many pretences that it was October before he arrived in England. The first step which he took was to exhort the king to desist from the prosecution of his divorce; and finding that this counsel gave offence, he said, that his intention was also to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convent, and that he thought it his duty previously to attempt an amicable composure of all differences[p]. The more to pacify the king, he shewed to him, as also to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no intreaties could prevail on him to make any other of the king's council privy to the secret[q]. In order to atone in some degree for this obstinacy, he expressed to the king and the cardinal, the pope's great desire

[o] Lord Herbert, p. 221. Burnet, p. 59.
[p] Herbert, p. 225. [q] Burnet, p. 58.

 of

CHAP. XXX. 1528. of ſatisfying them in every reaſonable demand; and in particular, he ſhowed, that their requeſt for ſuppreſſing ſome more monaſteries, and converting them into cathedrals and epiſcopal ſees, had obtained the conſent of his holineſs [r].

THESE ambiguous circumſtances in the behaviour of the pope and the legate, kept the court of England in ſuſpenſe, and determined the king to wait with patience the iſſue of ſuch uncertain councils. 1529. Fortune, meanwhile, ſeemed to promiſe him a more ſure and expeditious way of extricating himſelf from his preſent difficulties. Clement was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs; and the intrigues for electing his ſucceſſor began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolſey, in particular, ſupported by the intereſt of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter [s]; and it appears, that if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that ſummit of his ambition. But the pope recovered, though after ſeveral relapſes; and he returned to the ſame train of falſe and deceitful politics, by which he had hitherto amuſed the court of England. He ſtill flattered Henry with profeſſions of the moſt cordial attachment, and promiſed him a ſudden and favourable iſſue to his proceſs: He ſtill continued his ſecret negociations with Charles, and perſevered in the reſolution of ſacrificing all his promiſes, and all the intereſts of the Romiſh religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the deciſion by the moſt artful delays; and gave Clement full leiſure to adjuſt all the terms of his treaty with the emperor.

THE emperor, acquainted with the king's extreme earneſtneſs in this affair, was determined that he ſhould obtain ſucceſs by no other means than by

[r] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 270. Strype, vol. i. p. 110, 111. Append. N° 28. [s] Burnet, vol. i. p. 63.

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an application to him, and by deserting his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto supported, against the superior force of Spain, the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promising her his utmost protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and persecutions of her enemies. The queen herself was naturally of a firm and resolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to persevere in protesting against the injustice to which she thought herself exposed. The imputation of incest, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, struck her with the highest indignation: The illegitimacy of her daughter, which seemed a necessary consequence, gave her the most just concern: The reluctance of yielding to a rival, who, she believed, had supplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all these considerations, she never ceased soliciting her nephew's assistance, and earnestly intreating an evocation of the cause to Rome, where alone she thought she could expect justice. And the emperor, in all his negociations with the pope, made the recall of the commission which Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England a fundamental article[t].

31st May. Trial of the king's marriage.

THE two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at London, and cited the king and queen to appear before it. They both presented themselves; and the king answered to his name when called: But the queen, instead of answering to hers, rose from her seat, and throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes rendered the more affecting. She told him that she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, without council, without assistance; exposed to all the injustice which

[t] Herbert, p. 225. Burnet, vol. i. p. 69.

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her enemies were pleaſed to impoſe upon her: That ſhe had quitted her native country without other reſource than her connexions with him and his family, and had expected that, inſtead of ſuffering thence any violence or iniquity, ſhe was aſſured in them of a ſafeguard againſt every misfortune: That ſhe had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himſelf, whether her affectionate ſubmiſſion to his will had not merited better treatment, than to be thus, after ſo long a time, thrown from him with ſo much indignity: That ſhe was conſcious—he himſelf was aſſured—that her virgin honour was yet unſtained, when he received her into his bed, and that her connexions with his brother had been carried no farther than the ceremony of marriage: That their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were eſteemed the wiſeſt princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the beſt advice, when they formed the agreement for that marriage, which was now repreſented as ſo criminal and unnatural: And that ſhe acquieſced in their judgment, and would not ſubmit her cauſe to be tried by a court, whoſe dependence on her enemies was too viſible, ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial deciſion [u]. Having ſpoken theſe words, ſhe roſe, and making the king a low reverence, ſhe departed from the court, and never would again appear in it.

After her departure, the king did her the juſtice to acknowledge, that ſhe had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenour of her behaviour had been conformable to the ſtricteſt rules of probity and honour. He only inſiſted on his own ſcruples with regard to the lawfulneſs of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progreſs, and the foundation of thoſe

[u] Burnet, vol. i. p. 73. Hall. Stowe, p. 543.

doubts, by which he had been ſo long and ſo violently agitated. He acquitted cardinal Wolſey from having any hand in encouraging his ſcruples; and he craved a ſentence of the court agreeable to the juſtice of his cauſe.

THE legates, after citing the queen anew, declared her *contumacious*, notwithſtanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cauſe. The firſt point which came before them was the proof of prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it muſt be confeſſed, that no ſtronger arguments could reaſonably be expected of ſuch a fact after ſo long an interval. The age of the prince, who had paſſed his fifteenth year, the good ſtate of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his conſort, many of his expreſſions to that very purpoſe; all theſe circumſtances form a violent preſumption in favour of the king's aſſertion [w]. Henry himſelf, after his brother's death, was not allowed for ſome time to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: The Spaniſh ambaſſador, in order the better to enſure poſſeſſion of her jointure, had ſent over to Spain proofs of the conſummation of her marriage [x]: Julius's bull itſelf was founded on the ſuppoſition that Arthur had *perhaps* had knowledge of the princeſs: In the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the conſummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur is acknowledged on both ſides [y]. Theſe particulars were all laid before the court; accompanied with many reaſonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and againſt his power of granting a diſpenſation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard theſe doctrines with great impatience; and, notwithſtanding his reſolution to protract the cauſe, he was often

[w] Herbert. [x] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 35.
[y] Rymer. vol. xiii. p. 81.

tempted

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tempted to interrupt and ſilence the king's counſel, when they inſiſted on ſuch diſagreeable topics. The trial was ſpun out till the 23d of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolſey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as preſident of the court; becauſe it was thought that a trial managed by an Italian cardinal would carry the appearance of greater candour and impartiality, than if the king's own miniſter and favourite had preſided in it. The buſineſs now ſeemed to be drawing near to a period; and the king was every day in expectation of a ſentence in his favour; when to his great ſurpriſe, Campeggio, on a ſudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences [z], prorogued the court till the firſt of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of ſucceſs which the king had ſo long and ſo anxiouſly cheriſhed [a].

The cauſe evoked to Rome.

DURING the time that the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had, by his miniſters, earneſtly ſolicited Clement to evoke the cauſe; and had employed every topic of hope or terror which could operate either on the ambition or timidity of the pontiff. The Engliſh ambaſſadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no leſs earneſt in their applications, that the legates ſhould be allowed to finiſh the trial; but though they employed the ſame engines of promiſes and menaces, the motives which they could ſet before the pope were not ſo urgent or immediate as thoſe which were held up to him by the emperor [b]. The dread of loſing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by ſo conſiderable an acceſſion, made ſmall impreſſion on Clement's mind, in compariſon of the anxiety for his perſonal

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 76, 77.
[a] Herbert, p. 254.
[b] Burnet, vol. i. p. 75.

ſafety,

fafety, and the fond defire of reftoring the Medicis to their dominion in Florence. As foon, therefore, as he had adjufted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of juftice, which required him, as he afferted, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and fufpending the commiffion of the legates, he adjourned the caufe to his own perfonal judgment at Rome. Campeggio had, before-hand, received private orders delivered by Campana to burn the decretal bull with which he was entrufted.

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Wolsey had long forefeen this meafure as the fure forerunner of his ruin. Though he had at firft defired that the king fhould rather marry a French princefs than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himfelf with the utmoft affiduity and earneftnefs to bring the affair to a happy iffue[c]: He was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unprofperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. But he had fufficient experience of the extreme ardour and impatience of Henry's temper, who could bear no contradiction, and who was wont, without examination or diftinction, to make his minifters anfwerable for the fuccefs of thofe tranfactions with which they were entrufted. Anne Boleyn alfo, who was prepoffeffed againft him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and as fhe was newly returned to court, whence fhe had been removed from a regard to decency during the trial before the legates, fhe had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry, and fhe ferved much to fortify his prejudices againft the cardinal[d]. Even the queen and her partifans, judging of Wolfey by the part which he had openly acted, had expreffed great animofity againft him; and the moft oppofite factions feemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty minifter. The high opinion itfelf, which Henry had entertained of the cardinal's capacity, tended to haften

c Collier, vol. ii. p. 45. Burnet, vol. i. p. 53.
d Cavendifh, p. 40.

his

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his downfal; while he imputed the bad succefs of that minifter's undertakings, not to ill fortune, or to miftake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not inftantly on his head. The king, who probably could not juftify by any good reafon his alienation from his ancient favourite, feems to have remained fome time in fufpenfe; and he received him, if not with all his former kindnefs, at leaft with the appearance of truft and regard.

Wolfey's fall.

BUT conftant experience evinces how rarely a high confidence and affection receives the leaft diminution, without finking into abfolute indifference, or even running into the oppofite extreme. The king now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almoft as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were fent to require the great feal from him; and on his fcrupling to deliver it [e] without a more exprefs warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was furrendered, and it was delivered by the king to fir Thomas More, a man who, befides the ornaments of an elegant literature, poffeffed the higheft virtue, integrity, and capacity.

18th Oct.

WOLSEY was ordered to depart from York-Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the fee of York, was feized by Henry, and became afterwards the refidence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were alfo feized: Their riches and fplendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold, or cloth of filver: He had a cupboard of plate of maffy gold: There were found a thoufand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. The reft of his riches and fur-

[e] Cavendifh, p. 41.

niture

niture was in proportion; and his opulence was, probably, no ſmall inducement to this violent perſecution againſt him.

The cardinal was ordered to retire to Aſher, a country-ſeat which he poſſeſſed near Hampton-Court. The world that had paid him ſuch abject court during his proſperity, now entirely deſerted him on this fatal reverſe of all his fortunes. He himſelf was much dejected with the change; and from the ſame turn of mind which had made him be ſo vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt the ſtroke of adverſity with double rigour[f]. The ſmalleſt appearance of his return to favour threw him into tranſports of joy unbecoming a man. The king had ſeemed willing, during ſome time, to intermit the blows which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in poſſeſſion of the ſees of York and Wincheſter. He even ſent him a gracious meſſage accompanied with a ring, as a teſtimony of his affection. Wolſey, who was on horſeback when the meſſenger met him, immediately alighted; and throwing himſelf on his knees in the mire, received, in that humble attitude, theſe marks of his majeſty's gracious diſpoſition towards him[g].

But his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceaſed plying the king with accounts of his ſeveral offences; and Anne Boleyn, in particular, contributed her endeavours in conjunction with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinſtated in his former authority. He diſmiſſed, therefore, his numerous retinue; and as he was a kind and beneficent maſter, the ſeparation paſſed not without a plentiful effuſion of tears on both ſides[h]. The king's heart, notwithſtanding ſome gleams of kindneſs, ſeemed now totally hardened againſt his old

[f] Strype, vol. i. p. 114, 115. App. N° 31, &c.
[g] Stowe, p. 547. [h] Cavendiſh. Stowe, p. 549.

favourite.

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Wolsey's enemies finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him; that, contrary to a statute of Richard II. commonly called the statute of provisors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one investing him with the legantine power, which he had exercised with very extensive authority. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was, perhaps, within reach of the law; but besides that this statute had fallen into disuse, nothing could be more rigorous and severe, than to impute to him as a crime what he had openly, during the course of so many years, practised with the consent and approbation of the king, and the ac-

[i] See note [C] at the end of the volume.

quiescence

quiescence of the parliament and kingdom: Not to mention what he always asserted [k], and what we can scarcely doubt of, that he had obtained the royal licence in the most formal manner, which, had he not been apprehensive of the dangers attending any opposition to Henry's lawless will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sentence, however, was pronounced against him, "That he was out of the king's protection; his "lands and goods forfeited; and that his person "might be committed to custody." But this prosecution of Wolsey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences; restored him part of his plate and furniture; and still continued from time to time to drop expressions of favour and compassion towards him.

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Commencement of the reformation in England.

THE complaints against the usurpations of the ecclesiastics had been very ancient in England, as well as in most other European kingdoms; and as this topic was now become popular every where, it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people in some measure to the frightful idea of heresy and innovation. The commons, finding the occasion favourable, passed several bills restraining the impositions of the clergy; one for the regulating of mortuaries; another against the exactions for the probates of wills [l]; a third against non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmen's being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the ecclesiastical order, were the severe invectives thrown out almost without opposition in the house against the dissolute lives of the priests, their ambition, their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert [m] has even preserved the speech of a gentleman of

[k] Cavendish, p. 72.

[l] These exactions were quite arbitrary, and had risen to a great height. A member said in the house, that a thousand marks had been exacted from him on that account. Hall, fol. 188. Strype, vol. i. p. 73.

[m] P. 293.

Gray's-

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Gray's-Inn, which is of a ſingular nature, and contains ſuch topics as we ſhould little expect to meet with during that period. The member inſiſts upon the vaſt variety of theological opinions which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endleſs inextricable controverſies maintained by the ſeveral ſects; the impoſſibility that any man, much leſs the people, could ever know, much leſs examine, the tenets and principles of every ſect; the neceſſity of ignorance, and a ſuſpenſe of judgment with regard to all thoſe objects of diſpute: And upon the whole he infers, that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one ſupreme Being, the author of nature; and the neceſſity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such ſentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time, and would not be advanced without ſome precaution in a public aſſembly. But though the firſt broaching of religious controverſy might encourage the ſceptical turn in a few perſons of a ſtudious diſpoſition; the zeal with which men ſoon after attached themſelves to their ſeveral parties, ſerved effectually to baniſh for a long time all ſuch obnoxious liberties.

THE bills for regulating the clergy met with ſome oppoſition in the houſe of lords. Biſhop Fiſher, in particular, imputed theſe meaſures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed deſign derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in ſevere and even ſomewhat indecent terms. He told him that the greateſt clerks were not always the wiſeſt men. But Fiſher replied, that he did not remember any fools in his time who had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the biſhop of Rocheſter's ſpeech ſtopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of ſir Thomas Audley, their ſpeaker, made complaints

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to the king of the reflections thrown upon them; and the bishop was obliged to put a more favourable construction on his words [n].

HENRY was not displeased that the court of Rome and the clergy should be sensible that they were entirely dependent on him, and that his parliament, if he were willing to second their inclinations, was sufficiently disposed to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. The commons gratified the king in another particular of moment: They granted him a discharge of all those debts which he had contracted since the beginning of his reign; and they grounded this bill, which occasioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, and of his regularly employing all the money which he had borrowed in the public service. Most of the king's creditors consisted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the supply of Henry's necessities; and the present courtiers were well pleased to take the opportunity of mulcting them [o]. Several also approved of an expedient which they hoped would ever after discredit a method of supply so irregular and so unparliamentary.

Foreign affairs.

THE domestic transactions of England were at present so interesting to the king, that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in subordination to them. He had declared war against the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands, had engaged him to stipulate a neutrality with those provinces; and except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exercised no hostility against any of the Imperial dominions. A general peace was this summer esta-

n Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 82.
o Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83.

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bliſhed in Europe. Margaret of Auſtria and Louiſa of Savoy met at Cambray, and ſettled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hoſtages. Henry was on this occaſion ſo generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he ſent him an acquittal of near 600,000 crowns which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not ſo well ſatiſfied as the king with the peace of Cambray: They were almoſt wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor; and ſeemed to have no means of ſecurity left but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave reſiſtance, was ſubdued by the Imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treated; they were only obliged to relinquiſh ſome acquiſitions which they had made on the coaſt of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the inveſtiture of Milan, and was pardoned for all paſt offences. The emperor in perſon paſſed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and having already by his vigour and capacity ſucceeded in every enterpriſe, and reduced to captivity the two greateſt potentates in Europe, the one ſpiritual the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognoſtications were formed of his growing empire.

But though Charles ſeemed to be proſperous on every ſide, and though the conqueſt of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that ſcarcity of money under which he had hitherto laboured, he found himſelf threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his deſire of ſurmounting them was the chief cauſe of his granting ſuch moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solyman, the greateſt and

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most accompliſhed prince that ever ſat on the Ottoman throne, had almoſt entirely ſubdued Hungary, had beſieged Vienna, and though repulſed, ſtill menaced the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria with conqueſt and ſubjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of conſcience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and becauſe they proteſted againſt the votes paſſed in the Imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of *proteſtants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and on pretence of ſecuring the purity of religion, he had laid a ſcheme for aggrandiſing his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

The friendſhip of Henry was one material circumſtance yet wanting to Charles, in order to enſure ſucceſs in his ambitious enterpriſes; and the king was ſufficiently appriſed, that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce; that point which had long been the object of his moſt earneſt wiſhes. But beſides that the intereſts of his kingdom ſeemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty ſpirit could not ſubmit to a friendſhip impoſed on him by conſtraint; and as he had ever been accuſtomed to receive courtſhip, deference, and ſolicitation from the greateſt potentates, he could ill brook that dependance to which this unhappy affair ſeemed to have reduced him. Amidſt the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexions with the court of Rome; and though he had been educated in a ſuperſtitious reverence to papal authority, it is likely that his perſonal experience of the duplicity and ſelfiſh politics of Clement had ſerved much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his prerogative firmly eſtabliſhed at home: He obſerved,

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that his people were in general much disgusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclesiastical order: He knew that they had cordially taken part with him in his prosecution of the divorce, and highly resented the unworthy treatment which, after so many services and such devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn also could not fail to use all her efforts, and employ every insinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities against the pope; both as it was the readiest way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the dutchess of Alençon, a princess inclined to the reformers, had already disposed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But notwithstanding these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of such great innovations: He dreaded the reproach of heresy: He abhorred all connexions with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power: And having once exerted himself with such applause, as he imagined, in defence of the Romish communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from passion such a palpable inconsistency. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed, which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

The universities consulted about the king's marriage.

DR. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that university for his learning, and still more for the candour and disinterestedness of his temper. He fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner; and as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience, or

extort the pope's confent, would be to confult all the univerfities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: If they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorfes would naturally ceafe; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to refift the folicitations of fo great a monarch, feconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Chriftendom [p]. When the king was informed of the propofal, he was delighted with it; and fwore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right fow by the ear: He fent for that divine; entered into converfation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and underftanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in profecution of the fcheme propofed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the univerfities in Europe. CHAP. XXX. 1529.

HAD the queftion of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of found philofophy, exempt from fuperftition, it feemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reafon why marriages in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral fentiments of all nations, is derived from men's care to preferve purity of manners; while they reflect, that if a commerce of love were authorifed between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate converfation, efpecially during early youth, would introduce an univerfal diffolutenefs and corruption. But as the cuftoms of countries vary confiderably, and open an intercourfe more or lefs reftrained between different families, or between the feveral members of the fame family, we find that the moral precept, varying with its caufe, is fufceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the feveral ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks permitted no communication between perfons

[p] Fox, p. 1860, 2d edit. Burnet, vol. i. p. 79. Speed, p. 769. Heylin, p. 5.

CHAP. XXX. 1529. of different ſexes, except where they lived under the ſame roof; and even the apartments of a ſtep-mother and her daughters were almoſt as much ſhut up againſt viſits from the huſband's ſons, as againſt thoſe from any ſtranger or more diſtant relation: Hence, in that nation it was lawful for a man to marry not only his niece, but his half-ſiſter by the father: A liberty unknown to the Romans and other nations, where a more open intercourſe was authoriſed between the ſexes. Reaſoning from this principle it would appear, that the ordinary commerce of life among great princes is ſo obſtructed by ceremony and numerous attendants, that no ill conſequence would reſult among them from marrying a brother's widow; eſpecially if the diſpenſation of the ſupreme prieſt be previouſly required, in order to juſtify what may in common caſes be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And as ſtrong motives of public intereſt and tranquillity may frequently require ſuch alliances between the foreign families, there is the leſs reaſon for extending towards them the full rigour of the rule which has place among individuals[q].

But, in oppoſition to theſe reaſons, and many more which might be collected, Henry had cuſtom and precedent on his ſide; the principle by which men are almoſt wholly governed in their actions and opinions. The marrying of a brother's widow was ſo unuſual, that no other inſtance of it could be found in any hiſtory or record of any Chriſtian nation; and though the popes were accuſtomed to diſpenſe with more eſſential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, ſuch as thoſe of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exerciſe of his authority. Several univerſities of Europe, therefore, without heſitation, as well as with-

[q] See note [D] at the end of the volume.

out interest or reward [r], gave verdict in the king's favour; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angiers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but also those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itself, though under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone [s], and Cambridge [t], made some difficulty; because these universities, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, and dreading a defection from the holy see, scrupled to give their sanction to measures whose consequences they feared would prove fatal to the ancient religion. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all these authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his cause to the holy father, and threatening him with the most dangerous consequences in case of a denial of justice [u]. The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to dispense [w]. But Clement, lying still under the influence of the emperor, continued to summon the king to appear, either by himself or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the king, who knew that he could expect no fair trial there, refused to submit to such a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high insult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltshire, carried to the pope the king's reasons for not appearing by proxy; and, as the first instance of disrespect from England, refused to kiss his holiness's foot,

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[r] Herbert. Burnet. [s] Wood, Hist. and Ant. Ox. lib. i. p. 225. [t] Burnet, vol. i. p. 6. [u] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 405. Burnet, vol. i. p. 95. [w] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 454. 472.

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THE extremities to which Henry was pushed, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, were naturally disagreeable to cardinal Wolsey; and as Henry foresaw his opposition, it is the most probable reason that can be assigned for his renewing the prosecution against his ancient favourite. After Wolsey had remained some time at Asher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a present from Henry, in return for Hampton-Court: But the courtiers, dreading still his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his see of York. The cardinal knew it was in vain to resist: He took up his residence at Cawood in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood by his affability and hospitality[y]; but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolsey's ecclesiastical character, to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery; and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester-abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose
Nov. 28. more. A little before he expired he addressed himself in the following words to sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody: "I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto "his royal majesty, and beseech him on my behalf "to call to his remembrance all matters that have

[x] Burnet, vol. i. p. 94. [y] Cavendish. Stowe, p. 554.

"passed

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"passed between us from the beginning, especially "with regard to his business with the queen; and "then will he know in his conscience whether I have "offended him.

"He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and "hath a princely heart; and rather than he will "miss or want any part of his will he will endanger "the one half of his kingdom.

"I do assure you, that I have often kneeled be- "fore him, sometimes three hours together, to per- "suade him from his will and appetite; but could "not prevail: Had I but served God as diligently "as I have served the king, he would not have "given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the "just reward that I must receive for my indulgent "pains and study, not regarding my service to God, "but only to my prince. Therefore let me advise "you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by "your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put "into the king's head: For you can never put it "out again[z]."

Wolsey's death.

Thus died this famous cardinal, whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. The obstinacy and violence of the king's temper may alleviate much of the blame which some of his favourite's measures have undergone; and when we consider, that the subsequent part of Henry's reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolsey's counsels, we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this minister with such violent reproaches. If in foreign politics he sometimes employed his influence over the king for his private purposes rather than his master's service, which he boasted he had solely at heart; we must remember

[z] Cavendish.

that

CHAP. XXX. 1530. that he had in view the papal throne; a dignity which had he attained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a ſuitable return for all his favours. The cardinal of Amboiſe, whoſe memory is reſpected in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was in ſome reſpect ſimilar to Wolſey's; and we have reaſon to think that Henry was well acquainted with the views by which his miniſter was influenced, and took a pride in promoting them. He much regretted his death, when informed of it; and always ſpoke favourably of his memory: A proof that humour more than reaſon, or any diſcovery of treachery, had occaſioned the laſt perſecutions againſt him.

1531. 16th Jan. A parliament. A NEW ſeſſion of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave ſtrong proofs of his extenſive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depreſſion of the clergy. As an ancient ſtatute, now almoſt obſolete, had been employed to ruin Wolſey, and render his exerciſe of the legantine power criminal, notwithſtanding the king's permiſſion; the ſame law was now turned againſt the eccleſiaſtics. It was pretended that every one who had ſubmitted to the legantine court, that is, the whole church, had violated the ſtatute of proviſors; and the attorney-general accordingly brought an indictment againſt them [a]. The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppoſe reaſon or equity to the king's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain conſequence of not ſubmitting to Wolſey's commiſſion, which was procured by Henry's conſent, and ſupported by his authority. They choſe, therefore, to throw themſelves on the mercy of their ſovereign; and they agreed to pay 118,840 pounds for a pardon [b]. A confeſſion was likewiſe extorted from them, that *the king was the protector and the ſupreme head*

[a] Antiq. Brit. Eccleſ. p. 325. Burnet, vol. i. p. 106.
[b] Hollingſhed, p. 923.

of

of the church and clergy of England; though ſome of them had the dexterity to get a clauſe inſerted which invalidated the whole ſubmiſſion, and which ran in theſe terms, *in ſo far as is permitted by the law of Chriſt*. 1531.

The commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehenſive for themſelves, leſt either they ſhould afterwards be brought into trouble on account of their ſubmiſſion to the legantine court, or a ſupply in like manner be extorted from them in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the king to grant a remiſſion to his lay ſubjects; but they met with a repulſe. He told them, that if he ever choſe to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodneſs, not from their application, leſt he ſhould ſeem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they deſpaired of obtaining this conceſſion, he was pleaſed to iſſue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expreſſed great gratitude for that act of clemency [c].

By this ſtrict execution of the ſtatute of proviſors, a great part of the profit, and ſtill more of the power of the court of Rome was cut off; and the connexions between the pope and the Engliſh clergy were in ſome meaſure diſſolved. The next ſeſſion found both king and parliament in the ſame diſpoſitions. An act was paſſed againſt levying the annates or firſt fruits [d]; being a year's rent of all the biſhoprics that fell vacant: A tax which was impoſed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to conſiderable ſums. Since the ſecond of Henry VII. no leſs than one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds had been tranſmitted to Rome on account of this claim; which the parliament, therefore, reduced to

1532.

15th Jan.

Progreſs of the reformation.

c Hall's Chronicle. Hollingſhed, p. 923. Baker, p. 208.
d Burnet, vol. i. Collect. N° 41. Strype, vol. i. p. 144.

five

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five per cent. on all the epiſcopal benefices. The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was entruſted with a power of regulating theſe payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleaſure: And it was voted, that any cenſures which ſhould be paſſed by the court of Rome on account of that law ſhould be entirely diſregarded; and that maſs ſhould be ſaid, and the ſacraments adminiſtered, as if no ſuch cenſures had been iſſued.

THIS ſeſſion the commons preferred to the king a long complaint againſt the abuſes and oppreſſions of the eccleſiaſtical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them, when a difference aroſe, which put an end to the ſeſſion before the parliament had finiſhed all their buſineſs. It was become a cuſtom for men to make ſuch ſettlements or truſt-deeds of their lands by will, that they defrauded not only the king, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the ſame artifice the king was deprived of his premier ſeiſin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconſiderable branches of his revenue. Henry made a bill be drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether, this abuſe: He was contented that every man ſhould have the liberty of diſpoſing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the parliament in plain terms, "If they "would not take a reaſonable thing when it was "offered, he would ſearch out the extremity of "the law, and then would not offer them ſo much "again." The lords came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill: A ſingular inſtance, where Henry might ſee that his power and authority, though extenſive, had yet ſome boundaries. The commons, however, found reaſon to repent of their victory. The king made good his threats; he called together the judges and ableſt lawyers, who argued the queſtion in chancery; and

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it was decided, that a man could not by law bequeath any part of his lands in prejudice of his heir [e]. CHAP. XXX.

THE parliament being again assembled after a short prorogation, the king caused the two oaths to be read to them, that which the bishops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their installation; and as a contradiction might be suspected between them, while the prelates seemed to swear allegiance to two sovereigns [f], the parliament shewed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable that one Temse ventured this session to move, that the house should address the king to take back the queen, and stop the prosecution of his divorce. This motion made the king send for Audley the speaker; and explain to him the scruples with which his conscience had long been burdened; scruples, he said, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervours of youth were past, and which were confirmed by the concurring sentiments of all the learned societies in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of that any man had espoused two sisters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first Christian man that had ever married his brother's widow [g]. 1532. April 10.

AFTER the prorogation sir Thomas More the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from his high station with more joy and

e Burnet, vol. i. p. 116. Hall. Parliamentary History.
f Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 124.
g Herbert. Hall, fol. 205.

alacrity

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alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had no wise encroached on the gentleness of his temper, or even diminished that frolic and gaiety to which he was naturally inclined. He sported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride naturally attending a high station, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay hold of his serene and equal spirit. While his family discovered symptoms of sorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accustomed, he drew a subject of mirth from their distresses; and made them ashamed of losing even a moment's cheerfulness on account of such trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his resignation with some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal soon after to sir Thomas Audley.

During these transactions in England, and these invasions of the papal and ecclesiastical authority, the court of Rome was not without solicitude; and she entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom which of all others had long been the most devoted to the holy see, and which had yielded it the most ample revenue. While the imperial cardinals pushed Clement to proceed to extremities against the king, his more moderate and impartial counsellors represented to him the indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had signalised himself both by his pen and his sword in the cause of the pope, should be denied a favour which he demanded on such just grounds, and which had scarcely ever before been refused to any person of his rank and station. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and several consistories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined

mined not to send any proxy to plead his cause before this court: He only dispatched sir Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of excusators, so they were called, to carry his apology for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown, he said, must be sacrificed if he allowed appeals from his own kingdom; and as the question regarded conscience, not power or interest, no proxy could supply his place, or convey that satisfaction which the dictates of his own mind alone could confer. In order to support himself in this measure, and add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his personal friendship as well as public alliance with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which he believed he had persuaded Francis to imitate his example, in withdrawing his obedience from the bishop of Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs without having farther recourse to that see. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. Rouland Lee, soon after raised to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were present at the ceremony [h]. Anne became pregnant soon after her marriage; and this event both gave great satisfaction to the king, and was regarded by the people as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and virtue.

CHAP. XXX. 1532. 11th Oct. 14th Nov.

THE parliament was again assembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceeded still in those gradual and secure steps by which

1533. 4th Feb. A parliament.

[h] Herbert, p. 340, 341.

CHAP. XXX. 1533. which they loosened their connexions with the see of Rome, and repressed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts; appeals esteemed dishonourable to the kingdom, by subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction; and found to be very vexatious, by the expence and the delay of justice which necessarily attended them [i]. The more to show his disregard to the pope, Henry finding April 12. the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage; and in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulness, he prepared measures for declaring by a formal sentence the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine: A sentence which ought naturally to have preceded his espousing of Anne [k].

The king, even amidst his scruples and remorses on account of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with respect and distinction; and he endeavoured by every soft and persuasive art, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her opposition to his divorce. Finding her obstinate in maintaining the justice of her cause, he had totally forborne all visits and intercourse with her; and had desired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which she should please to reside. She had fixed her abode for some time at Amphill, near Dunstable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created archbishop of Canterbury on the death of War-10th May. ham [l], was appointed to open his court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was chosen, in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no answer to the citation, either by herself or proxy, she was declared *contumacious*; and the primate pro-

[i] 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
[k] Collier, vol. ii. p. 31. and records, N° 8.
[l] See note [E] at the end of the volume.

ceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were anew produced; the opinions of the universities were read, together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and after these preliminary steps Cranmer proceeded to a sentence, and annulled the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon after was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that ceremony[m]. To complete the king's satisfaction on the conclusion of this intricate and vexatious affair, she was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards swayed the sceptre with such renown and felicity. Henry was so much delighted with the birth of this child, that soon after he conferred on her the title of princess of Wales[n]; a step somewhat irregular, as she could only be presumptive, not apparent heir of the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his daughter Mary with that title; and he was determined to bestow on the offspring of his present marriage the same mark of distinction, as well as to exclude the elder princess from all hopes of the succession. His regard for the new queen seemed rather to increase than diminish by his marriage; and all men expected to see the entire ascendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth had set her at so great a distance, and who by a proper mixture of severity and indulgence had long managed so intractable a spirit as that of Henry. In order to efface as much as possible all marks of his first marriage, lord Mountjoy was sent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her that she was thenceforth to be treated only as princess-dowager of Wales; and all

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7th Sept.

[m] Heylin, p. 6.   [n] Burnet, vol. i. p. 134.

CHAP. XXX. 1533. means were employed to make her acquiesce in that determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and she would admit no person to her presence who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generosity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her commands in this particular; but was never able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions[o].

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, so injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy see, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the Imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if before the first of November ensuing he did not replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly stood[p]. An event had happened, from which the pontiff expected a more amicable conclusion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

The pope had claims upon the dutchy of Ferrara for the sovereignty of Reggio and Modena[q]; and, having submitted his pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was surprised to find a sentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this disappointment, he hearkened to proposals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his second son, to Catherine of Medicis, niece of the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance, by which his family was so much honoured. An interview was even appointed between the pope and French king at

[o] Herbert. p. 326. Burnet, vol. i. p. 132.
[p] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 566.
[q] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 133. Guicciardini.

Marseilles;

Marseilles; and Francis as a common friend there employed his good offices in mediating an accommodation between his new ally and the king of England.

Had this connexion of France with the court of Rome taken place a few years sooner, there had been little difficulty in adjusting the quarrel with Henry. The king's request was an ordinary one; and the same plenary power of the pope, which had granted a dispensation for his espousing of Catherine, could easily have annulled the marriage. But in the progress of the quarrel the state of affairs was much changed on both sides. Henry had shaken off much of that reverence which he had early imbibed for the apostolic see; and finding that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his measures for breaking off foreign dependance, he had begun to relish his spiritual authority, and would scarcely, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his submissions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, now ran a manifest risque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and as a sentence of divorce could no longer be rested on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be construed as an acknowledgment of papal usurpations, it was foreseen that the Lutherans would thence take occasion of triumph, and would persevere more obstinately in their present principles. But notwithstanding these obstacles, Francis did not despair of mediating an agreement. He observed that the king had still some remains of prejudice in favour of the catholic church, and was apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue from too violent innovations. He saw the interest that Clement had in preserving the obedience of England, which was one of the richest jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped that these motives on both sides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

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FRANCIS first prevailed on the pope to promise, that if the king would send a proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his cause to the holy see, he should appoint commissioners to meet at Cambray, and form the process; and he should immediately afterwards pronounce the sentence of divorce required of him. Bellay, bishop of Paris, was next dispatched to London, and obtained a promise from the king, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome; and the pope agreed, that if the king would sign a written agreement to the same purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the messengers; and all Europe regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romish church, as drawing towards an amicable conclusion[r]. But the greatest affairs often depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier who carried the king's written promise was detained beyond the day appointed: News was brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the pope and cardinals[s]. The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory enflamed with anger; and by a precipitate sentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his usual prudence, found, that though he heartily repented of this hasty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the same footing as before.

King's final breach with Rome.

March 23.

IT is not probable that the pope, had he conducted himself with ever so great moderation and temper,

[r] Father Paul, lib. 1. [s] Ibid.

could

could hope, during the life-time of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obstinate; and having proceeded so far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time when he was negotiating a reconciliation with Rome, he either entertained so little hopes of success, or was so indifferent about the event, that he had assembled a parliament, and continued to enact laws totally destructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding session had retrenched somewhat from the power and profits of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during some years, to teach the nation that a general council was much superior to a pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's cross, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocese [t]. The proceedings of the parliament shewed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reason to believe that the king, after having procured a favourable sentence from Rome, which would have removed all doubts with regard to his second marriage and the succession, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the Roman pontiff, but never would have surrendered to him any considerable share of his assumed prerogative. The importance of the laws passed this session, even before intelligence arrived of the violent resolutions taken at Rome, is sufficient to justify this opinion.

CHAP. XXX. 1534. 15th Jan.

A parliament.

ALL payments made to the apostolic chamber; all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished: Monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone: The law for punishing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited

[t] Burnet, vol. i. p. 144.

CHAP. XXX. 1534. from imprisoning or trying any person upon suspicion alone, without presentment by two lawful witnesses; and it was declared, that to speak against the pope's authority was no heresy: Bishops were to be appointed by a *congè d'elire* from the crown, or in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent; and no recourse was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, which they had hitherto enjoyed[u]: The law which had been formerly made against paying annates or first fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established: And a submission which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this session the sanction of parliament[w]. In this submission the clergy acknowledged that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only; they promise to enact no new canons without his consent; and they agree that he should appoint thirty-two commissioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrograte such as should be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative[x]. An appeal was also allowed from the bishop's court to the king in chancery.

But the most important law passed this session, was that which regulated the succession to the crown: The marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: The primate's sentence annulling it was ratified: And the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and failing them to the king's March 30. heirs for ever. An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure,

[u] Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl.
[w] 25 H. 8. c. 19.
[x] Collier, vol. ii. p. 69, 70.

and

and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all ſlander against the king, queen, or their iſſue, was ſubjected to the penalty of miſpriſion of treaſon. After theſe compliances the parliament was prorogued; and thoſe acts, ſo contemptuous towards the pope, and ſo deſtructive of his authority, were paſſed at the very time that Clement pronounced his haſty ſentence againſt the king. Henry's reſentment againſt queen Catherine, on account of her obſtinacy, was the reaſon why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown; contrary to his firſt intentions when he began the proceſs of divorce, and of diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage.

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THE king found his eccleſiaſtical ſubjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act againſt appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, ſhould be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom: And they voted that the biſhop of Rome had by the law of God no more juriſdiction in England than any other foreign biſhop; and that the authority which he and his predeceſſors had there exerciſed was only by uſurpation, and by the ſufferance of Engliſh princes. Four perſons alone oppoſed this vote in the lower houſe, and one doubted. It paſſed unanimouſly in the upper. The biſhops went ſo far in their complaiſance, that they took out new commiſſions from the crown, in which all their ſpiritual and epiſcopal authority was expreſsly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magiſtrate, and to be entirely dependant on his good pleaſure[y].

THE oath regarding the ſucceſſion was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſir Thomas More, were the only perſons of note that entertained ſcruples with regard to its legality. Fiſher was obnoxious on account

y Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii.

CHAP. XXX. 1534. of ſome practices into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, ſeems to have betrayed him. But More was the perſon of greateſt reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed that his authority would have influence on the ſentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulneſs of the oath. He declared that he had no ſcruple with regard to the ſucceſſion, and thought that the parliament had full power to ſettle it: He offered to draw an oath himſelf, which would enſure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refuſed the oath preſcribed by law; becauſe the preamble of that oath aſſerted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer the primate, and Cromwel, now ſecretary of ſtate, who highly loved and eſteemed More, entreated him to lay aſide his ſcruples; and their friendly importunity ſeemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refuſal [z]. He perſiſted, however, in a mild though firm manner, to maintain his reſolution; and the king, irritated againſt him as well as Fiſher, ordered both to be indicted upon the ſtatute, and committed priſoners to the Tower.

3d Nov. The parliament being again aſſembled, conferred on the king the title of the only ſupreme *head* on earth of the church of England; as they had already inveſted him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to viſit, and repreſs, redreſs, reform, order, correct, reſtrain, or amend all errors, hereſies, "abuſes, offences, contempts, and enormities, which "fell under any ſpiritual authority, or juriſdic-"tion [a]." They alſo declared it treaſon to attempt, imagine, or ſpeak evil againſt the king, queen, or

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 156. [a] 26 H. 8. c. 1.

his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a ſubſidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fiſher for miſpriſion of treaſon. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the Engliſh laws.

Thus the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the exceſs of its acquiſitions, and by ſtretching its pretenſions beyond what it was poſſible for any human principles or prepoſſeſſions to ſuſtain. Indulgencies had in former ages tended extremely to enrich the holy ſee; but being openly abuſed, they ſerved to excite the firſt commotions and oppoſition in Germany. The prerogative of granting diſpenſations had alſo contributed much to attach all the ſovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumſtances, was now the cauſe why England ſeparated herſelf from the Romiſh communion. The acknowledgment of the king's ſupremacy introduced there a greater ſimplicity in the government, by uniting the ſpiritual with the civil power, and preventing diſputes about limits, which never could exactly be determined, between the contending juriſdictions. A way was alſo prepared for checking the exorbitances of ſuperſtition, and breaking thoſe ſhackles by which all human reaſon, policy, and induſtry had ſo long been encumbered. The prince, it may be ſuppoſed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal juriſdiction of the kingdom, though he might ſometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no intereſt, like the Roman pontiff, in nouriſhing its exceſſive growth; and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry, would

CHAP. XXX. 1534. would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits, and prevent its abuses. And on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial consequences; though perhaps neither foreseen nor intended by the persons who had the chief hand in conducting it.

While Henry proceeded with so much order and tranquillity in changing the national religion, and while his authority seemed entirely secure in England, he was held in some inquietude by the state of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

The earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accused of some violences against the family of Offory, his hereditary enemies, he was summoned to answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his son, who hearing that his father was thrown into prison, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himself to Oneale, Ocarrol, and other Irish nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen archbishop of Dublin, and laid siege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in prison, and his son, persevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promised him assistance. The king was obliged to send over some forces to Ireland, which so harassed the rebels, that this young nobleman, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promises, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself prisoner to lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorset. He was carried over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction they were all brought to public justice; though two of the uncles, in order to save the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

The earl of Angus had acquired the entire ascendant in Scotland; and having gotten possession of the

king's

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king's perſon, then in early youth, he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager, however, his conſort, bred him great diſturbance. For having ſeparated herſelf from him, on account of ſome jealouſies and diſguſts, and having procured a divorce, ſhe had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and ſhe joined all the diſcontented nobility who oppoſed Angus's authority. James himſelf was diſſatisfied with the ſlavery to which he was reduced; and by ſecret correſpondence he incited firſt Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt by force of arms the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterpriſes failed of ſucceſs; but James, impatient of reſtraint, found means at laſt of eſcaping to Stirling, where his mother then reſided; and having ſummoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglaſſes, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himſelf with great ſpirit and valour in repreſſing thoſe feuds, ravages, and diſorders, which, though they diſturbed the courſe of public juſtice, ſerved to ſupport the martial ſpirit of the Scots, and contributed by that means to maintain national independency. He was deſirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in cloſe union with England, and on that account ſomewhat cold in hearkening to his propoſals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped by means of ſuch an ally to breed diſturbance to England. He offered the Scottiſh king the choice of three princeſſes, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his ſiſter the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his couſin the daughter

of

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of Henry, whom he pretended to dispose of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter proposal, had it not upon reflection been found impracticable; and his natural propensity to France at last prevailed over all other considerations. The alliance with Francis necessarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle Henry to confer with him at Newcastle, and concert common measures for repressing the ecclesiastics in both kingdoms, and shaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himself in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refusing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any personal negociations with an enemy of the holy see. From these measures Henry easily concluded, that he could very little depend on the friendship of his nephew. But those events took not place till some time after our present period.

CHAP. XXXI.

Religious principles of the people—of the king—of the miniſters——Farther progreſs of the reformation ——Sir Thomas More——The maid of Kent—— Trial and execution of Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter— of ſir Thomas More —— King excommunicated —— Death of queen Catherine —— Suppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries —— A parliament —— A convocation —— Tranſlation of the Bible —— Diſgrace of Queen Anne —— Her trial —— and execution —— A parliament —— A convocation —— Diſcontents among the people —— Inſurrection —— Birth of prince Edward, and death of queen Jane ——Suppreſſion of the greater monaſteries——Cardinal Pole.

CHAP. XXXI.

1534. Religious principles of the people.

THE ancient and almoſt uninterrupted oppoſition of intereſts between the laity and clergy in England, and between the Engliſh clergy and the court of Rome, had ſufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the ſovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to diſcover abuſes, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found deſtructive of their own. Theſe ſubjects ſeemed proportioned to human underſtanding; and even the people, who felt the power of intereſt in their own breaſt, could perceive the purpoſe of thoſe numerous inventions which the intereſted ſpirit of the Roman pontiff had introduced into religion. But when the reformers proceeded thence to diſpute concerning the nature of

CHAP. XXXI. 1534. of the sacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were during some time at a loss how to chuse their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a sincere but indolent acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reasoning, nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As soon, therefore, as a new opinion was advanced, supported by such an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for such disquisitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the most opposite directions: Hence their seeming prostitution, in sacrificing to present power the most sacred principles: And hence the rapid progress during some time, and the sudden as well as entire check soon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once settled in their particular sects, and had fortified themselves in a habitual detestation of those who were denominated heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and unchangeable.

Nothing more forwarded the first progress of the reformers, than the offer which they made, of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the summons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it. They fancied that they were exercising their judgment, while they opposed to the prejudices of ancient

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cient authority, more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleasure of an imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience and even alacrity in suffering persecution, death and torments; a disgust at the restraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics; these motives were prevalent with the people, and by such considerations were men so generally induced during that age to throw off the religion of their ancestors.

But in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared in some respects dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent, of shaking so ancient and deep founded an establishment as that of the Romish hierarchy, might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican spirit which naturally took place among the reformers increased this jealousy. The furious insurrections of the populace, excited by Muncer and other anabaptists in Germany[b], furnished a new pretence for decrying the reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, because protestants in our time prove as dutiful subjects as those of any other communion, that therefore such apprehensions were altogether without any shadow of plausibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the disciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquiesce implicitly in those establishments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

No prince in Europe was possessed of such absolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himself, in his

[b] Sleidan, lib. 4. & 5.

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own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclesiastical powers[c]; and there was small likelihood that any doctrine which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. But besides this political jealousy, there was another reason which inspired this imperious monarch with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those scholastic quarrels, he had received from his courtiers and theologians infinite applause for his performance. Elated by his imaginary success, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obstinacy of temper, he had entertained the most lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his sentiments. Luther also had been so imprudent as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagonist; and though he afterwards made the most humble submissions to Henry, and apologized for the vehemence of his former expressions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to that prince; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had corrected one considerable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquish the remainder. Separate as he stood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and sword the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

Of the king.

HENRY's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as

Of the ministers.

[c] See note [F] at the end of the volume.

well

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well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers: Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations: Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the protestant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity; virtues which he possessed in as eminent a degree as those times, equally distracted with faction and oppressed by tyranny, could easily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had inlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely useful to it.

All these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles to each other, were obliged to disguise their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the sentiments of their master. Cromwell and Cranmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an assent to the king's supremacy, and to his renunciation of the sovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his passion for the catholic faith; and instigated him to punish those daring heretics who had presumed to reject his theological principles. Both sides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party: The king, meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled by the courtship paid him both by protestants and catholics to assume an unbounded authority: And

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though in all his measures he was really driven by his ungoverned humour, he casually steered a course which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any which the most profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrisy, in his situation, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them reserve in complying with a monarch whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained: But while the frankness, sincerity, and openness of Henry's temper were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious passions, each side dreaded to lose him by the smallest opposition, and flattered themselves that a blind compliance with his will would throw him cordially and fully into their interests.

Farther progress of the reformation.

The ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects, and promoted that spirit of innovation with which the age was generally seized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a steady severity in the administration, could be able to repress. There were some Englishmen, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and others, who, dreading the exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp [d], where the great privileges possessed by the Low Country provinces served, during some time, to give them protection. These men employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions of the church of Rome; against images, reliques, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiosity of men with regard to that question, the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans, and other protestants, they asserted that salvation was obtained by faith alone; and that the most

[d] Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

infallible

infallible road to perdition[e] was a reliance on *good works*; by which terms they underſtood as well the moral duties as the ceremonial and monaſtic obſervances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of *good works*; but though they did not exclude from this appellation the ſocial virtues, it was ſtill the ſuperſtitions gainful to the church which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books compoſed by theſe fugitives, having ſtolen over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a tranſlation of the ſcriptures by Tindal that was eſteemed the moſt dangerous to the eſtabliſhed faith. The firſt edition of this work, compoſed with little accuracy, was found liable to conſiderable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to loſe a great part of the impreſſion, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made ſenſible. Tonſtal, then biſhop of London, ſoon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being deſirous to diſcourage in the gentleſt manner theſe innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp; and he burned them publicly in Cheapſide. By this meaſure he ſupplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great ſcandal to the people in thus committing to the flames the word of God[f].

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THE diſciples of the reformation met with little ſeverity during the miniſtry of Wolſey, who, though himſelf a clergyman, bore too ſmall a regard to the eccleſiaſtical order to ſerve as an inſtrument of their

[e] Sacrilegium eſt et impietas velle placere Deo per opera et non per ſolam fidem. *Luther adverſus regem.* Ita vides quam dives ſit homo Chriſtianus ſive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non poteſt perdere ſalutem ſuam quantiſcunque peccatis. Nulla enim peccata poſſunt eum damnare niſi incredulitas. *Id. de captivitate Babylonicâ.*

[f] Hall, fol. 186. Fox, vol. i. p. 138. Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

tyranny:

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tyranny: It was even an article of impeachment against him [g], that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, is at once an object deserving our compassion, and an instance of the usual progress of men's sentiments during that age. This man, whose elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles which even at present would be deemed somewhat too free, had, in the course of events, been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a superstitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence in their prosecution of heresy. Though adorned with the gentlest manners as well as the purest integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greatest severity. Bainham, accused of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's house; and having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield [h].

Sir Thomas More.

MANY were brought into the bishops' courts for offences which appear trivial, but which were regarded as symbols of the party: Some for teaching

[g] Articles of Impeachment in Herbert. Burnet.
[h] Fox. Burnet, vol. i. p. 165.

their

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[illegible]ildren the Lord's prayer in Engliſh; others [illegible]ng the New Teſtament in that language, or for ſpeaking againſt pilgrimages. To harbour the perſecuted preachers, to neglect the faſts of the church, to declaim againſt the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a prieſt, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was ſo haunted by remorſe that his friends dreaded ſome fatal effects of his deſpair. At laſt his mind ſeemed to be more relieved; but this appearing calm proceeded only from the reſolution which he had taken of expiating his paſt offence by an open confeſſion of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of truſting for their ſalvation either to pilgrimages, or to the cowle of St. Francis, to the prayers of the ſaints, or to images. He was ſoon ſeized, tried in the biſhops' court, and condemned as a relapſed heretic; and the writ was ſent down to burn him. When brought to the ſtake, he diſcovered ſuch patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the ſpectators were much affected with the horrors of his puniſhment; and ſome mendicant friars who were preſent, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them loſe thoſe alms which they received from the charity of the people, deſired him publicly to acquit them [l] of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied; and by this meekneſs gained the more on the ſympathy of the people. Another perſon ſtill more heroic, being brought to the ſtake for denying the real preſence, ſeemed almoſt in a tranſport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots which were to be the inſtruments of his puniſhment, as the means of procuring him eternal reſt. In ſhort, the tide turning towards

[l] Burnet, vol. i. p. 164.

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the new doctrine, those severe executions, which, in another disposition of men's minds, would have sufficed to suppress it, now served only to diffuse it the more among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting persecutors.

But though Henry neglected not to punish the protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the assurance to tell him, "That many "lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a "true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs would "lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's[k]." The king took no notice of the insult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who justified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another friar of the same house, interrupted the preacher, and told him that he was one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish by adultery the succession of the crown; but that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said. Henry silenced the petulant friar; but showed no other mark of resentment than ordering Peyto and him to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence[l]. He even here bore patiently some new instances of their obstinacy and arrogance: When the earl of Essex, a privy counsellor, told them, that they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elston replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land[m].

k Strype, vol. i. p. 167. Burnet, vol. i. p. 151.

l Collier, vol. ii. p. 86.

m Stowe, p. 562.

But several monks were detected in a conspiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was on its discovery attended with more fatal consequences to themselves. Elizabeth Barton of Aldington in Kent, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*, had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which, as she was scarcely conscious of them during the time, had soon after entirely escaped her memory. The silly people in the neighbourhood were struck with these appearances, which they imagined to be supernatural; and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, a designing fellow, founded on them a project from which he hoped to acquire both profit and consideration. He went to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, then alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he so far wrought on that prudent but superstitious prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future sayings. The regard paid her by a person of so high a rank soon rendered her still more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was easy for Masters to persuade them, as well as the maid herself, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knavery, as is usual, soon after succeeding to delusion, she learned to counterfeit trances; and she then uttered, in an extraordinary tone, such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director. Masters associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their design was to raise the credit of an image of the Virgin, which stood in a chapel belonging to Masters, and to draw to it such pilgrimages as usually frequented the more famous images and reliques. In prosecution of this design, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her

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to have recourſe to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the preſence of a great multitude, ſhe fell anew into convulſions; and after diſtorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, ſhe affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the interceſſion of the Virgin [m]. This miracle was ſoon bruited abroad; and the two prieſts, finding the impoſture to ſucceed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterpriſes. They taught their penitent to declaim againſt the new doctrines, which ſhe denominated hereſy; againſt innovations in eccleſiaſtical government; and againſt the king's intended divorce from Catherine. She went ſo far as to aſſert, that if he proſecuted that deſign, and married another, he ſhould not be a king a month longer, and ſhould not an hour longer enjoy the favour of the Almighty, but ſhould die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into the deluſion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth [n]. Miracles were daily added to increaſe the wonder; and the pulpit every where reſounded with accounts of the ſanctity and inſpirations of the new propheteſs. Meſſages were carried from her to Queen Catherine, by which that princeſs was exhorted to perſiſt in her oppoſition to the divorce; the pope's ambaſſadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, though a man of ſenſe and learning, was carried away by an opinion ſo favourable to the party which he had eſpouſed [o]. The king at laſt began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and

[m] Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's Epitome of Chronicles.
[n] Strype, vol. i. p. 181. [o] Collier, vol. ii. p. 87.

her

her accomplices to be arrested, he brought them before the Star Chamber, where they freely, without being put to the torture, made confession of their guilt. The parliament, in the session held the beginning of this year, passed an act of attainder against some who were engaged in this treasonable imposture [p]; and Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, Gold, suffered for their crime. The bishop of Rochester, Abel, Addison, Lawrence, and others, were condemned for misprision of treason; because they had not discovered some criminal speeches which they heard from Elizabeth [q]: And they were thrown into prison. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophetess's miracles was detected; and even the scandalous prostitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions which so naturally insinuate themselves amidst the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different sexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found, that a door to her dormitory, which was said to have been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for less refined purposes.

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The detection of this imposture, attended with so many odious circumstances, both hurt the credit of the ecclesiastics, particularly the monks, and instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars; and finding, that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile, he exercised punishment on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour depriving the king of his

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p 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Burnet, vol. i. p. 149. Hall, fol. 220.
q Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

dignity

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dignity or titles: They had lately added to his other titles, that of supreme head of the church: It was inferred, that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt. It was certainly a high instance of tyranny to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that nowise affected the king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament in passing this law had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people, should be governed: But the violence of changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it treason to deny what during many ages it had been heresy to assert, is an event which may appear somewhat extraordinary. Even the stern unrelenting mind of Henry was at first shocked with these sanguinary measures; and he went so far as to change his garb and dress; pretending sorrow for the necessity by which he was pushed to such extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and desirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fisher and More, to consummate his lawless tyranny.

Trial and execution of Fisher bishop of Rochester;

JOHN Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, still more than for his ecclesiastical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into prison on account of his refusing the oath which regarded the succession, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treasonable speeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of his very clothes, and without consideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which scarcely sufficed to cover his nakedness [r]. In this condition he lay in

[r] Fuller's Church Hist. book v. p. 203.

prison

prison above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fisher was so indifferent about that dignity, that even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not stoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, roused the indignation of the king; and he resolved to make the innocent person feel the effects of his resentment. Fisher was indicted for denying the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

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THE execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whose compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiously desired by the king. That prince also bore as great personal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, the sport of passions, was susceptible of towards a man who in any particular opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his principles as that of the king's supremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpose. Rich, the solicitor-general, was sent to confer with More, then a prisoner, who kept a cautious silence with regard to the supremacy: He was only inveigled to say, that any question with regard to the law which established that prerogative, was a two-edged sword: If a person answer one way, it will confound his soul; if another, it will destroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treason against the prisoner. His silence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and these words, which had casually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the supremacy.

Of sir Thomas More.

CHAP. XXXI. 1535. macy[s]. Trials were mere formalities during this reign: The jury gave sentence against More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, nay his usual facetiousness, never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up, and "when I come down again, let me shift for my-"self." The executioner asking him forgiveness, he granted the request, but told him, "You will never "get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard: "For," said he, "it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition. But as the man followed his principles and sense of duty, however misguided, his constancy and integrity are not the less objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age. 6th July.

When the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invested with the dignity of cardinal, every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died about six months after he pronounced sentence against the king; and Paul III., of the name of Farnese, had succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who, while cardinal, had always favoured Henry's cause, had hoped that, personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impossible to form an agreement with England: And the king himself

[s] More's Life of Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 393.

was

was ſo deſirous of accommodating matters, that in a negotiation which he entered into with Francis a little before this time, he required that that monarch ſhould conciliate a friendſhip between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accuſtomed to preſcribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating for peace, his uſual violence often carried him to commit offences which rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fiſher was regarded by Paul as ſo capital an injury, that he immediately paſſed cenſures againſt the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to anſwer for their crimes: If they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his iſſue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; diſſolved all leagues which any catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms againſt him; freed his ſubjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign ſtates; and declared it lawful for any one to ſeize them, to make ſlaves of their perſons, and to convert their effects to his own uſe [t]. But though theſe cenſures were paſſed, they were not at that time openly denounced: The pope delayed their publication till he ſhould find an agreement with England entirely deſperate; and till the emperor, who was at that time hard preſſed by the Turks and the proteſtant princes in Germany, ſhould be in a condition to carry the ſentence into execution.

30th Aug.

King excommunicated.

THE king knew that he might expect any injury which it ſhould be in Charles's power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his reſentment upon him [u]. He renewed his friendſhip with Francis, and opened negotiations for marrying his

[t] Saunders, p. 148. [u] Herbert, p. 350, 351.

infant-

CHAP. XXXI. 1535. infant-daughter, Elizabeth, with the duke of Angouleme, third ſon of Francis. The two monarchs alſo made advances to the princes of the proteſtant league in Germany, ever jealous of the emperor's ambition: And Henry, beſides remitting them ſome money, ſent Fox biſhop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay lord of Langley, to treat with them. But during the firſt fervours of the reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as a union of intereſts, to be eſſential to a good correſpondence among ſtates; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confeſſion of Augſburg, it was looked upon as a bad ſymptom of their ſincerity, that they exerciſed ſuch extreme rigour againſt all preachers of the reformation in their reſpective dominions[w]. Henry carried the feint ſo far, that, while he thought himſelf the firſt theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, that they might confer with him, and inſtruct him in the foundation of their tenets. Theſe theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philoſopher, even in ancient Greece, where they were treated with moſt reſpect, had ever reached equal applauſe and admiration with thoſe wretched compoſers of metaphyſical polemics. The German princes told the king that they could not ſpare their divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with ſuch zealous diſputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not aſſociate with the diſciples of Zuinglius, becauſe, though they agreed in every thing elſe, they differed in ſome minute particulars with regard to the euchariſt, he was the more indifferent on account of this refuſal. He could alſo foreſee, that even while the league of Smalkalde did not act in

[w] Sleidan, lib. 10.

concert

concert with him, they would always be carried by their interefts to oppofe the emperor: And the hatred between Francis and that monarch was fo inveterate, that he deemed himfelf fure of a fincere ally in one or other of thefe potentates. CHAP. XXXI. 1535.

During thefe negotiations an incident happened in England which promifed a more amicable conclufion of thofe difputes, and feemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was feized with a lingering illnefs, which at laft brought her to her grave: She died at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before fhe expired, fhe wrote a very tender letter to the king; in which fhe gave him the appellation of *her moft dear Lord, King, and Hufband.* She told him, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, fhe laid hold of this laft opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptinefs of all human grandeur and enjoyment: That though his fondnefs towards thefe perifhable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himfelf much trouble, fhe yet forgave him all paft injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven: And that fhe had no other requeft to make, than to recommend to him his daughter, the fole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and fervants. She concluded with thefe words, *I make this vow, that mine eyes defire you above all things* [x]. The king was touched even to the fhedding of tears, by this laft tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is faid to have expreffed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit [y].

1536.

6th Jan. Death of queen Catherine.

The emperor thought that, as the demife of his aunt had removed all foundation of perfonal animo-

[x] Herbert, p. 403. [y] Burnet, vol. i. p. 192.

fity

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

ſity between him and Henry, it might not now be impoſſible to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped ſo much advantage. He ſent Henry propoſals for a return to ancient amity, upon theſe conditions[z]; that he ſhould be reconciled to the ſee of Rome, that he ſhould aſſiſt him in his war with the Turk, and that he ſhould take part with him againſt Francis, who now threatened the dutchy of Milan. The king replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided that prince would acknowledge that the former breach of friendſhip came entirely from himſelf: As to the conditions propoſed; the proceedings againſt the biſhop of Rome were ſo juſt, and ſo fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Chriſtian princes ſhould have ſettled peace among themſelves, he would not fail to exert that vigour which became him, againſt the enemies of the faith; and after amity with the emperor was once fully reſtored, he ſhould then be in a ſituation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to aſſiſt the injured party.

WHAT rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor was, both his experience of the uſual duplicity and inſincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the preſent tranſactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without iſſue; and the emperor maintained that the dutchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him as head of the Germanic body: Not to give umbrage, however, to the ſtates of Italy, he profeſſed his intention of beſtowing that principality on ſome prince who ſhould be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angouleme, third ſon of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended

[z] Du Bellay, liv. v. Herbert. Burnet, vol. iii. in Col. N° 50.

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that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was content to ſubſtitute his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to cloſe with this propoſal. But his ſole intention in that liberal conceſſion was to gain time, till he ſhould put himſelf in a warlike poſture, and be able to carry an invaſion into Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between theſe princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in perſonal inſults on each other, ill becoming perſons of their rank, and ſtill leſs ſuitable to men of ſuch unqueſtioned bravery. Charles ſoon after invaded Provence in perſon, with an army of fifty thouſand men; but met with no ſucceſs. His army periſhed with ſickneſs, fatigue, famine, and other diſaſters; and he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Marſeilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialiſts, near 30,000 ſtrong, which invaded France on the ſide of the Netherlands, and laid ſiege to Peronne, made no greater progreſs, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the ſatisfaction to find, both that his ally Francis was likely to ſupport himſelf without foreign aſſiſtance, and that his own tranquillity was fully enſured by theſe violent wars and animoſities on the continent.

If any inquietude remained with the Engliſh court, it was ſolely occaſioned by the ſtate of affairs in Scotland. James hearing of the dangerous ſituation of his ally Francis, generouſly levied ſome forces; and embarking them on board veſſels which he had hired for that purpoſe, landed them ſafely in France. He even went over in perſon; and making haſte to join the camp of the French king, which then lay in Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who having repulſed the emperor, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by ſo agreeable and ſeaſonable an inſtance of friend-

 ſhip,

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ſhip, the king of Scots paid his addreſſes to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to the match than what aroſe from the infirm ſtate of his daughter's health, which ſeemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But James having gained the affections of the princeſs, and obtained her conſent, the father would no longer oppoſe the united deſires of his daughter and his friend: They were accordingly married, and ſoon after ſet ſail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreſeen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid leſt his ally Henry, whom he likewiſe looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is uſual among great princes, ſhould be diſpleaſed that this cloſe confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore diſpatched Pommeraye to London, in order to apologiſe for this meaſure; but Henry, with his uſual openneſs and freedom, expreſſed ſuch diſpleaſure, that he refuſed even to confer with the ambaſſador; and Francis was apprehenſive of a rupture with a prince who regulated his meaſures more by humour and paſſion, than by the rules of political prudence. But the king was ſo fettered by the oppoſition in which he was engaged againſt the pope and the emperor, that he purſued no farther this diſguſt againſt Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity, both on the ſide of France and of Scotland.

The domeſtic peace of England ſeemed to be expoſed to more hazard by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed, that in this dangerous conjuncture nothing enſured public tranquillity ſo much as the deciſive authority acquired by the king, and his great aſcendant over all his ſubjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown was profound during that age: The perſonal reſpect

inspired by Henry was considerable; and even the terrors with which he overawed every one were not attended with any considerable degree of hatred. His frankness, his sincerity, his magnificence, his generosity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuosity. And the important rank which his vigour more than his address acquired him in all foreign negociations flattered the vanity of Englishmen, and made them the more willingly endure those domestic hardships to which they were exposed. The king, conscious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the most dangerous exercise of his authority; and after paving the way for that measure by several preparatory expedients, he was at last determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues.

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THE great increase of monasteries, if matters be considered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion; and every other disadvantage attending that communion seems to have an inseparable connection with these religious institutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplicity of holidays; all these fetters on liberty and industry were ultimately derived from the authority and insinuation of monks, whose habitations being established every where proved so many seminaries of superstition and of folly. This order of men was extremely enraged against Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England, as the removal of the sole protection which they enjoyed against the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now subjected to the king's visitation; the supposed sacredness of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progress of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monastic orders, gave them reason to apprehend like consequences in England; and though the king still

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maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which most of the convents owed their origin and support, it was foreseen, that in the progress of the contest he would every day be led to depart wider from ancient institutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political interests naturally induced him to unite. Moved by these considerations, the friars employed all their influence to inflame the people against the king's government; and Henry, finding their safety irreconcileable with his own, was determined to seize the present opportunity, and utterly destroy his declared enemies.

Cromwel, secretary of state, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute uncontrollable power assumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellasis, and others, as commissioners, who carried on every where a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, especially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and as it was known that the king's intention in this visitation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations against their brethren; the slightest evidence was credited; and even the calumnies spread abroad by the friends of the reformation were regarded as grounds of proof. Monstrous disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses: Whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness: Signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. It is indeed probable, that the blind submission of the people during those ages would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more dissolute than they are in any Roman catholic coun-

try at present: But still the reproaches which it is safest to credit, are such as point at vices naturally connected with the very institution of convents, and with the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners mentioned, are very credible among men, who being confined together within the same walls, never can forget their mutual animosities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connections of nature, are commonly cursed with hearts more selfish and tempers more unrelenting than fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people, may be regarded as certain, in an order founded on illusions, lies, and superstition. The supine idleness also, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no question; and though monks were the true preservers as well as inventors of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the schools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men whose lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raise the mind or cultivate the genius.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition carried on by Cromwel and his commissioners, surrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given to dismiss such nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, whose vows were on that account supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were above that age; and every one recovered his liberty who desired it. But as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the re-

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port of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions which to their ancestors had been the objects of the most profound veneration.

4th Feb. A parliament.

THE king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic orders, resolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no further at present, than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a year[a]. These were found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint of shame, and being exposed to less scrutiny[b]; and it was deemed safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more[c]. It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law: So absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded, from this circumstance, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony[d].

Suppression of the lesser monasteries.

THE act formerly passed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon-law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought that the present perplexity of that law increased his

[a] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28. [b] Burnet, vol. i. p. 193.

[c] It is pretended, see Hollingshed, p. 939, that ten thousand monks were turned out on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. If so, most of them must have been Mendicants: For the revenue could not have supported near that number. The Mendicants, no doubt, still continued their former profession.

[d] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27.

authority,

authority, and kept the clergy in ſtill greater dependance. CHAP. XXXI.

FARTHER progreſs was made in completing the union of Wales with England: The ſeparate juriſdictions of ſeveral great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obſtructed the courſe of juſtice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were aboliſhed; and the authority of the king's courts was extended every where. Some juriſdictions of a like nature in England were alſo aboliſhed[e] this ſeſſion. 1536.

THE commons, ſenſible that they had gained nothing by oppoſing the king's will, when he formerly endeavoured to ſecure the profits of wardſhips and liveries, were now contented to frame a law[f], ſuch as he dictated to them. It was enacted, That the poſſeſſion of land ſhall be adjudged to be in thoſe who have the uſe of it, not in thoſe to whom it is transferred in truſt.

AFTER all theſe laws were paſſed, the king diſſolved the parliament: a parliament memorable not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but alſo for the long time it had ſitten, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it ſo obſequious to his will that he did not chuſe, during thoſe religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the ſame parliament above ſix years: A practice at that time unuſual in England. April 14.

THE convocation which ſat during this ſeſſion was engaged in a very important work, the deliberating on the new tranſlation which was projected of the ſcriptures. The tranſlation given by Tindal, though corrected by himſelf in a new edition, was ſtill complained of by the clergy as inaccurate and unfaithful; and it was now propoſed to them that they ſhould A convocation.

[e] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 4. [f] Ibid. c. 10.

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themselves publish a translation, which would not be liable to those objections.

The friends of the reformation asserted, that nothing could be more absurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itself, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which for the purpose of universal salvation had published that salutary doctrine to all nations: That if this practice were not very absurd, the artifice at least was very gross, and proved a consciousness that the glosses and traditions of the clergy stood in direct opposition to the original text dictated by Supreme Intelligence: That it was now necessary for the people, so long abused by interested pretensions, to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclesiastics were founded on that charter which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven: And that as a spirit of research and curiosity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different sects, the proper materials for decision, and above all, the holy scriptures, should be set before them; and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had somewhat obscured, be again by their means revealed to mankind.

The favourers of the ancient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people see with their own eyes was a mere cheat, and was itself a very gross artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to seduce them from those pastors whom the laws, whom ancient establishments, whom heaven itself, had appointed for their spiritual direction: That the people were, by their ignorance, their stupidity, their necessary avocations, totally unqualified to chuse their own principles; and it was a mockery to set materials before them, of which they could not possibly make any proper use: That

even

even in the affairs of common life, and in their temporal concerns, which lay more within the compaſs of human reaſon, the laws had in a great meaſure deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily for their own and the public intereſt, regulated their conduct and behaviour: That theological queſtions were placed far beyond the ſphere of vulgar comprehenſion; and eccleſiaſtics themſelves, though aſſiſted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an aſſiduous ſtudy of the ſcience, could not be fully aſſured of a juſt deciſion; except by the promiſe made them in ſcripture, that God would be ever preſent with his church, and that the gates of hell ſhould not prevail againſt her: That the groſs errors adopted by the wiſeſt heathens, proved how unfit men were to grope their own way through this profound darkneſs; nor would the ſcriptures, if truſted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy; on the contrary, they would much augment, thoſe fatal illuſions: That ſacred writ itſelf was involved in ſo much obſcurity, gave riſe to ſo many difficulties, contained ſo many appearing contradictions, that it was the moſt dangerous weapon that could be intruſted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: That the poetical ſtyle in which a great part of it was compoſed, at the ſame time that it occaſioned uncertainty in the ſenſe, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was ſufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticiſm, and thereby throw civil ſociety into the moſt furious combuſtion: That a thouſand ſects muſt ariſe, which would pretend each of them to derive its tenets from the ſcripture; and would be able, by ſpecious arguments, or even without ſpecious arguments, to ſeduce ſilly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the moſt monſtrous principles: And that if ever this diſorder, dangerous to the magiſtrate himſelf, received a remedy, it muſt be from the tacit acquieſcence

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quiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther contest or inquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more secure establishments.

THESE latter arguments, being more agreeable to ecclesiastical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the scriptures; and in three years' time the work was finished and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers, and a considerable advancement of their cause. Farther progress was soon expected, after such important successes.

Disgrace of queen Anne.

BUT while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification which seemed to blast all their hopes. Their patroness Anne Boleyn possessed no longer the king's favour; and soon after lost her life by the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had persevered in his love to this lady during six years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his passion, the more determined zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection which had subsisted, and still increased under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object, when it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently estranged from his consort. Anne's enemies soon perceived the fatal change; and they were forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus for the present disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make

make the innocent mother anſwerable for the miſfortune[g]. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king againſt her, was his jealouſy. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

ANNE, though ſhe appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her leſs circumſpect than her ſituation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to thoſe freedoms; and it was with difficulty ſhe conformed herſelf to that ſtrict ceremonial practiſed in the court of England. More vain than haughty, ſhe was pleaſed to ſee the influence of her beauty on all around her, and ſhe indulged herſelf in an eaſy familiarity with perſons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendſhip and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with theſe popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the huſband poſſeſſed but too quick diſcernment and penetration. Ill inſtruments interpoſed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmleſs liberties of the queen: The viſcounteſs of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her ſiſter-in-law, inſinuated the moſt cruel ſuſpicions into the king's mind; and as ſhe was a woman of profligate character, ſhe paid no regard either to truth or humanity in thoſe calumnies which ſhe ſuggeſted. She pretended that her own huſband was engaged in a criminal correſpodence with his ſiſter; and, not content with this imputation, ſhe poiſoned every action of the queen's, and repreſented each inſtance of favour which ſhe conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton gentlemen

g Burnet, vol. i. p. 196.

of

CHAP. XXXI. 1536. of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeton groom of the chamber, were obſerved to poſſeſs much of the queen's friendſhip; and they ſerved her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be ſeaſoned with ſome mixture of tenderneſs for ſo amiable a princeſs. The king's jealouſy laid hold of the ſlighteſt circumſtance, and finding no particular object on which it could faſten, it vented itſelf equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury.

HAD Henry's jealouſy been derived from love, though it might on a ſudden have proceeded to the moſt violent extremities, it would have been ſubject to many remorſes and contrarieties; and might at laſt have ſuffered only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But it was a more ſtern jealouſy, foſtered entirely by pride: His love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of ſir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of ſingular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire aſcendant over him; and he was determined to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to moſt monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damſels of their court rather honoured than diſgraced by their paſſion, he ſeldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than thoſe which he ſought to avoid by forming that legal connexion. And having thus entertained the deſign of raiſing his new miſtreſs to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every ſuggeſtion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

1ſt May. THE king's jealouſy firſt appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably caſual, but inter-

interpreted by him as an inſtance of gallantry to ſome of her paramours [h]. He immediately retired from the place; ſent orders to confine her to her chamber; arreſted Norris, Brereton, Weſton, and Smeton, together with her brother Rocheford; and threw them into priſon. The queen, aſtoniſhed at theſe inſtances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earneſt, ſhe reflected on his obſtinate unrelenting ſpirit, and ſhe prepared herſelf for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day ſhe was ſent to the Tower; and on her way thither ſhe was informed of her ſuppoſed offences, of which ſhe had hitherto been ignorant: She made earneſt proteſtations of her innocence; and when ſhe entered the priſon ſhe fell on her knees, and prayed God ſo to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her ſurpriſe and confuſion threw her into hyſterical diſorders; and in that ſituation ſhe thought that the beſt proof of her innocence was to make an entire confeſſion, and ſhe revealed ſome indiſcretions and levities which her ſimplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that ſhe had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when ſhe ſhould be a widow: She had reproved Weſton, ſhe ſaid, for his affection to a kinſwoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife: But he told her that ſhe had miſtaken the object of his affection, for it was herſelf: Upon which ſhe defied him [i]. She affirmed that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpſicord: But ſhe acknowledged that he had once had the boldneſs to tell her, that a look ſufficed him. The king, inſtead of being ſatisfied with the candour and ſincerity of her confeſſion, regarded theſe indiſcretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

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[h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 198. [i] Strype, vol. i. p. 281.

Of

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Of all those multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged during her prosperous fortune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's fury; and the person whose advancement every breath had favoured, and every countenance had smiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connections of party to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic religion hoped that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the most intimate union with the apostolic see. Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for her; and, as far as the king's impetuosity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her.

The queen herself wrote Henry a letter from the Tower, full of the most tender expostulations, and of the warmest protestations of innocence[k]. This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief proof of their guilt consisted in a hearsay from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen[l]; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession; for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were also Brereton and Weston. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer of life was made him, if he would confess his crime, and accuse the

[k] See note [G] at the end of the volume.
[l] Burnet, vol. i. p. 202.

queen:

queen: But he generously rejected the proposal; and said, that in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless: But for his part he could accuse her of nothing, and he would rather die a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent person.

Her trial;

THE queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, consisting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more: Their uncle the duke of Norfolk presided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown: The chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had affirmed to her minions that the king never had her heart; and had said to each of them apart, that she loved him better than any person whatsoever: *Which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her.* By this strained interpretation her guilt was brought under the statute of the 25th of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were at that time admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unassisted by counsel, she defended herself with presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court, both against the queen and lord Rocheford; and her verdict contained, that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful sentence was pronounced she was not terrified, but lifting up her hands to heaven said, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, "the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have "not deserved this fate." And then turning to the judges,

CHAP. XXXI. judges, made the moſt pathetic declarations of her innocence.

1536. HENRY, not ſatisfied with this cruel vengeance, was reſolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her iſſue illegitimate: He recalled to his memory, that a little after her appearance in the Engliſh court ſome attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Percy; and he now queſtioned the nobleman with regard to theſe engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbiſhops, that no contract or promiſe of marriage had ever paſſed between them: He received the ſacrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council; and this ſolemn act he accompanied with the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of veracity[m]. The queen, however, was ſhaken by menaces of executing the ſentence againſt her in its greateſt rigour, and was prevailed on to confeſs in court ſome lawful impediment to her marriage with the king[n]. The afflicted primate who ſat as judge thought himſelf obliged by this confeſſion to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the tranſports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconſiſtent, and that if her marriage were from the beginning invalid, ſhe could not poſſibly be guilty of adultery.

and execution. THE queen now prepared for ſuffering the death to which ſhe was ſentenced. She ſent her laſt meſſage to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which ſhe owed him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: From a private gentlewoman, ſhe ſaid, he had firſt made her a marchioneſs, then a queen, and now, ſince he could raiſe her no higher in this world, he was ſending her to be a ſaint

[m] Herbert, p. 384. [n] Heylin, p. 94.

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in heaven. She then renewed the proteſtations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieütenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, ſhe made the like declarations; and continued to behave herſelf with her uſual ſerenity, and even with cheerfulneſs. "The "executioner," ſhe ſaid to the lieutenant, "is, I "hear, very expert; and my neck is very ſlender:" Upon which ſhe graſped it in her hand, and ſmiled. When brought, however, to the ſcaffold, ſhe ſoftened her tone a little with regard to her proteſtations of innocence. She probably reflected that the obſtinacy of queen Catherine, and her oppoſition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary: Her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in theſe laſt moments over that indignation which the unjuſt ſentence by which ſhe ſuffered naturally excited in her. She ſaid that ſhe was come to die, as ſhe was ſentenced by the law: She would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a moſt merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious ſovereign; and if any one ſhould think proper to canvas her cauſe, ſhe deſired him to judge the beſt [o]. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was ſent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common cheſt of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower.

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19th May.

THE innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reaſonably be called in queſtion. Henry himſelf, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuſe as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother, and four perſons more, he was able to bring proof againſt none of them. The whole tenour of

[o] Burnet, vol. i. p. 205.

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her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her an abandoned character, such as is implied in the king's accusation: Had she been so lost to all prudence and sense of shame, she must have exposed herself to detection, and afforded her enemies some evidence against her. But the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution[p]. His impatience to gratify this new passion caused him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not softened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had so long been the object of his most tender affections.

The lady Mary thought the death of her stepmother a proper opportunity for reconciling herself to the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her on account of the part which she had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at first received; and Henry exacted from her some farther proofs of submission and obedience: He required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his supremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess; but after some delays, and even refusals, she was at last prevailed on to write a letter to her father[q], containing her assent to the articles required of her: Upon which she was received into favour. But notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the issue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was blest with a singular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment towards her.

8th June. A parliament.

The trial and conviction of queen Anne, and the subsequent events, made it necessary for the king to

p Burnet, vol. i. p. 207.
q Ibid. Strype, vol. i. p. 285.

summon a new parliament: and he, here, in his speech, made a merit to his people, that, notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced for their good to venture on a third. The speaker received this profession with suitable gratitude; and he took thence occasion to praise the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: He compared him, for justice and prudence, to Solomon; for strength and fortitude, to Sampson; and for beauty and comeliness, to Absalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, that he disavowed these praises; since, if he were really possessed of such endowments, they were the gift of Almighty God only. Henry found that the parliament was no less submissive in deeds than complaisant in their expressions, and that they would go the same lengths as the former in gratifying even his most lawless passions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified[r]; that queen and all her accomplices were attainted; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will or letters patent, to dispose of the crown: An enormous authority, especially when entrusted to a prince so violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever, being required, refused to answer upon oath to any article of this act of settlement, was declared to be guilty of treason; and by this clause a species of political inquisition was established in

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[r] The parliament, in annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, gives this as a reason, "For that his highness had chosen "to wife the excellent and virtuous lady Jane, who for her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood, "would be apt, God willing, to conceive issue by his highness."

 the

CHAP. XXXI. 1536. the kingdom, as well as the accufations of treafon multiplied to an unreafonable degree. The king was alfo empowered to confer on any one, by his will or letters patent, any caftles, honours, liberties, or franchifes; words which might have been extended to the difmembering of the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent jurifdictions. It was alfo, by another act, made treafon to marry without the king's confent, any princefs related in the firft degree to the crown. This act was occafioned by the difcovery of a defign formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to efpoufe the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, by his fifter the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty foon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder paffed againft him this feffion of parliament.

Another acceffion was likewife gained to the authority of the crown: The king, or any of his fucceffors, was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been paffed before he was four-and-twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the bifhop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to reftore it in England, was fubjected to the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law. And any perfon who poffeffed any office ecclefiaftical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refufed to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treafon. The renunciation prefcribed runs in the ftyle of *So help me God, all faints, and the holy evangelifts* [s]. The pope hearing of Anne Boleyn's difgrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making

[s] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

 fome

ſome advances to Henry: But this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become indifferent with regard to papal cenſures; and finding a great increaſe of authority, as well as of revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to perſevere in his preſent meaſures. This parliament alſo, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the reſpect of his ſubjects, and what confidence he might repoſe in them. Though the elections had been made on a ſudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members diſcovered an unlimited attachment to his perſon and government [t].

A convocation.

The extreme complaiſance of the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time with the parliament, encouraged him in his reſolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was ſecretly a great diviſion of ſentiments in the minds of this aſſembly; and as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented by ſome late ſucceſſes, the reſentment of the catholics was no leſs excited by their fears and loſſes: But the authority of the king kept every one ſubmiſſive and ſilent; and the new-aſſumed prerogative, the ſupremacy, with whoſe limits no one was fully acquainted, reſtrained even the moſt furious movements of theological rancour. Cromwel preſided as vicar-general; and though the catholic party expected that, on the fall of queen Anne, his authority would receive a great ſhock, they were ſurpriſed to find him ſtill maintain the ſame credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer biſhop of Worceſter, Shaxton of Saliſbury, Hilſey of Rocheſter, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's. The oppoſite faction was headed by Lee archbiſhop of York, Stokeſley biſhop of London, Tonſtal of Durham, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Longland of Lincoln, Sherborne of Chi-

t Burnet, vol. i. p. 212.

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chester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle. The former party, by their opposition to the pope, seconded the king's ambition and love of power: The latter party, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, were more conformable to his speculative principles: And both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humour, by which he was more governed than by either of these motives.

The church in general was averse to the reformation; and the lower house of convocation framed a list of opinions, in the whole sixty-seven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, some held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern protestants, or Gospellers, as they were sometimes called. These opinions they sent to the upper house to be censured; but in the preamble of their representation, they discovered the servile spirit by which they were governed. They said, "that they intended not to do or speak any "thing which might be unpleasant to the king, "whom they acknowledge their supreme head, and "whose commands they were resolved to obey; re- "nouncing the pope's usurped authority, with all "his laws and inventions, now extinguished and "abolished; and addicting themselves to Almighty "God and his laws, and unto the king and the "laws made within this kingdom [u]."

The convocation came at last, after some debate, to decide articles of faith; and their tenets were of as motley a kind as the assembly itself, or rather as the king's system of theology, by which they were resolved entirely to square their principles. They determined the standard of faith to consist in the Scriptures and the three creeds, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian; and this article was a signal victory to the reformers: Auricular confession and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the

[u] Collier, vol. ii. p. 119.

catholics:

catholics: No mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as ſacraments; and in this omiſſion the influence of the proteſtants appeared: The real preſence was aſſerted, conformably to the ancient doctrine: The terms of acceptance were eſtabliſhed to be the merits of Chriſt, and the mercy and good pleaſure of God, ſuitably to the new principles. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

So far the two ſects ſeem to have made a fair partition, by alternately ſharing the ſeveral clauſes. In framing the ſubſequent articles, each of them ſeems to have thrown in its ingredient. The catholics prevailed in aſſerting, that the uſe of images was warranted by Scripture; the proteſtants, in warning the people againſt idolatry, and the abuſe of theſe ſenſible repreſentations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedience of praying to ſaints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of ſaints to any trade, profeſſion, or courſe of action. The former rites of worſhip, the uſe of holy water, and the ceremonies practiſed on Aſh-wedneſday, Palm-ſunday, Good-friday, and other feſtivals, were ſtill maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of theſe inſtitutions, were alſo adopted, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting ſin, and by its aſſerting that their ſole merit conſiſted in promoting pious and devout diſpoſitions in the mind.

But the article, with regard to purgatory, contains the moſt curious jargon, ambiguity, and heſitation, ariſing from the mixture of oppoſite tenets. It was to this purpoſe; "Since, according to due "order of charity, and the book of Maccabees, and "divers ancient authors, it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for ſouls departed; and ſince "ſuch a practice has been maintained in the church "from the beginning; all biſhops and teachers "ſhould inſtruct the people not to be grieved for

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"the continuance of the ſame. But ſince the place "where departed ſouls are retained, before they "reach Paradiſe, as well as the nature of their "pains, is left uncertain by Scripture; all ſuch "queſtions are to be ſubmitted to God, to whoſe "mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the "deceaſed, truſting that he accepteth our prayers "for them [w]."

These articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by the king, were ſubſcribed by every member of that aſſembly; while, perhaps, neither there, nor throughout the whole kingdom, could one man be found, except Henry himſelf, who had adopted preciſely theſe very doctrines and opinions. For, though there be not any contradiction in the tenets above-mentioned, it had happened in England, as in all countries where factious diviſions have place; a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neuters were to be found; and theſe conſiſted only of ſpeculative or whimſical people, of whom two perſons could ſcarcely be brought to an agreement in the ſame dogmas. The proteſtants all of them carried their oppoſition to Rome farther than thoſe articles: None of the catholics went ſo far: And the king, by being able to retain the nation in ſuch a delicate medium, diſplayed the utmoſt power of an imperious deſpotiſm, of which any hiſtory furniſhes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when ſeconded by a party, is one of the moſt perilous enterpriſes which any ſovereign can attempt, and often proves the moſt deſtructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to ſet the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even ſtop its career: He could ſay to it, Thus far ſhalt thou go, and no farther: And he made every vote of his parliament and convocation ſubſervient, not only to his intereſts

[w] Collier, vol. ii. p. 122, & ſeq. Fuller. Burnet, vol. i. p. 215.

and

and paſſions, but even to his greateſt caprices; nay, to his moſt refined and moſt ſcholaſtic ſubtleties. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

The concurrence of theſe two national aſſemblies ſerved, no doubt, to increaſe the king's power over the people, and raiſed him to an authority more abſolute than any prince in a ſimple monarchy even by means of military force is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds beyond which the moſt ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the diſſolution of the ſmaller monaſteries, and the imminent danger to which all the reſt were expoſed[x], had bred diſcontent among the people, and had diſpoſed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the piety and compaſſion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives ſuited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raiſe the ſtrongeſt zeal in its favour[y]. Diſcontents had even reached ſome of the nobility and gentry, whoſe anceſtors had founded the monaſteries, and who placed a vanity in thoſe inſtitutions, as well as reaped ſome benefit from them, by the proviſions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more ſuperſtitious were intereſted for the ſouls of their forefathers, which, they believed, muſt now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of maſſes to relieve them. It ſeemed unjuſt to aboliſh pious inſtitutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the moſt moderate and reaſonable deemed it ſomewhat iniquitous, that men who had been invited into a courſe of life by all the laws human and divine which prevailed in their country, ſhould be turned out of their poſſeſſions, and ſo little care be taken of their future ſubſiſtence. And when it was obſerved, that the rapacity and

Diſcontents among the people.

x See note [H] at the end of the volume.
y Strype, vol. i. p. 249.

bribery

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bribery of the commiſſioners and others, employed in viſiting the monaſteries, intercepted much of the profits reſulting from theſe confiſcations, it tended much to increaſe the general diſcontent [z].

But the people did not break into open ſedition till the complaints of the ſecular clergy concurred with thoſe of the regular. As Cromwel's perſon was little acceptable to the eccleſiaſtics; the authority which he exerciſed being ſo new, ſo abſolute, ſo unlimited, inſpired them with diſguſt and terror. He publiſhed, in the king's name, without the conſent either of parliament or convocation, an ordonance by which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited ſeveral ſuperſtitions gainful to the clergy, ſuch as pilgrimages, images, reliques; and even ordered the incumbents in the pariſhes to ſet apart a conſiderable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the ſupport of exhibitioners and the poor of their pariſh. The ſecular prieſts, finding themſelves thus reduced to a grievous ſervitude, inſtilled into the people thoſe diſcontents which they had long harboured in their own boſoms.

Insurrection.

The firſt riſing was in Lincolnſhire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was diſguiſed like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above 20,000 men [a]; but, notwithſtanding their number, they ſhowed little diſpoſition of proceeding to extremities againſt the king, and ſeemed ſtill overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be ſupreme head of the church of England; but they complained of ſuppreſſing the monaſteries, of evil counſellors, of perſons meanly born raiſed to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were expoſed: And they prayed the king to conſult the

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 223. [a] Ibid. p. 227. Herbert.

nobility

1536.

nobility of the realm concerning the redreſs of theſe grievances [b]. Henry was little diſpoſed to entertain apprehenſions of danger, eſpecially from a low multitude, whom he deſpiſed. He ſent forces againſt the rebels, under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very ſharp anſwer to their petition. There were ſome gentry, whom the populace had conſtrained to take part with them, and who kept a ſecret correſpondence with Suffolk. They informed him, that reſentment againſt the king's reply was the chief cauſe which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder anſwer would probably ſuppreſs the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march againſt the rebels; and being ſo well ſupported by power, he thought that, without loſing his dignity, he might now ſhow them ſome greater condeſcenſion. He ſent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with ſecret aſſurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect: The populace was diſperſed: Mackrel and ſome of their leaders fell into the king's hands, and were executed: The greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their uſual occupations: A few of the more obſtinate fled to the north, where they joined the inſurrection that was raiſed in thoſe parts.

6th Octob.

The northern rebels, as they were more numerous, were alſo on other accounts more formidable than thoſe of Lincolnſhire; becauſe the people were there more accuſtomed to arms, and becauſe of their vicinity to the Scots, who might make advantage of theſe diſorders. One Aſke, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he poſſeſſed the art of governing the populace. Their enterpriſe they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace:* Some prieſts marched before in the habits of their order,

[b] Herbert, p. 410.

carrying

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carrying crosses in their hands: In their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ[c]: They wore on their sleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle: They all took an oath, that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive than their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the nobility, of driving base-born persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. Allured by these fair pretences, about 40,000 men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, and those northern provinces, flocked to their standard; and their zeal, no less than their numbers, inspired the court with apprehensions.

The earl of Shrewsbury, moved by his regard for the king's service, raised forces, though at first without any commission, in order to oppose the rebels. The earl of Cumberland repulsed them from his castle of Skipton: Sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborough-castle against them[d]: Courtney, marquis of Exeter, the king's cousin-german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops. The earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland, imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York: They had laid siege to Pomfret-castle, into which the archbishop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themselves. It was soon surrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels.

The duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the northern rebels; and as he headed the party at court which supported the ancient religion, he was also suspected of bearing some favour to the cause which he was sent to op-

[c] Fox, vol. ii. p. 992. [d] Stowe, p. 574. Baker, p. 258.

pose.

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pose. His prudent conduct, however, seems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaster, together with the earl of Shrewsbury; and as his army was small, scarcely exceeding five thousand men, he made choice of a post where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purposed to defend against the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but during the night there fell such violent rains as rendered the river utterly impassable; and Norfolk wisely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negotiation, he sent them a herald; whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himself sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop of York on one hand, and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that two gentlemen should be dispatched to the king with proposals from the rebels; and Henry purposely delayed giving an answer, and allured them with hopes of entire satisfaction, in expectation that necessity would soon oblige them to disperse themselves. Being informed that his artifice had in a great measure succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms, and submit to mercy; promising a pardon to all, except six whom he named, and four whom he reserved to himself the power of naming. But though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of subsistence, they had entered into the most solemn engagements to return to their standards, in case the king's answer should not prove satisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, soon found himself in the same difficulty as before; and he opened again a negotiation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to send three hundred persons to Doncaster, with proposals for an accommodation; and he hoped, by intrigue and separate interests, to throw dissension among so great a number. Aske himself had intended to be one of the deputies, and he required a hostage for his security:

But

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But the king, when consulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman, or other whom he esteemed so little as to put him in pledge for such a villain. The demands of the rebels were so exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the contest by arms. They were as formidable as ever, both by their numbers and spirit; and, notwithstanding the small river which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reason to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in such abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their design; and the populace, partly reduced to necessity by want of provisions, partly struck with superstition at being thus again disappointed by the same accident, suddenly dispersed themselves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the dispersion by the promise of a general amnesty; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He published, however, a manifesto against the rebels, and an answer to their complaints; in which he employed a very lofty style, suited to so haughty a monarch. He told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours: "And we," he added, "with our whole council, think it right "strange that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert "folk, do take upon you to appoint us, who be "meet or not for our council."

9th Dec.

As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march into the northern parts, in order to exact a general submission. Lord Darcy, as well as Aske, was sent for to court; and the former, upon his refusal or delay to appear, was thrown into prison. Every place was full of jealousy and complaints. A new insurrection broke out, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; and the rebels

besieged

besieged Carlisle with 8000 men. Being repulsed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made prisoners of all their officers except Musgrave, who escaped, he instantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of seventy persons. An attempt made by sir Francis Bigot and Halam, to surprise Hull, met with no better success; and several other risings were suppressed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by these multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon which he had granted; and from a movement of his usual violence, he made the innocent suffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and wherever he thought proper executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, leader of the first insurrection, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer, sir Thomas Percy, sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into prison; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Hussey was found guilty as an accomplice in the insurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcey, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed for his justification to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution, he accused Norfolk of having secretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either sensible of that nobleman's services, and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of such extensive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now satiated with punishing the rebels, he published anew a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered [e]; and he erected by patent a court of justice at York, for deciding lawsuits in the northern counties: A demand which had been made by the rebels.

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[e] Herbert, p. 428.

SOON

CHAP. XXXI.

1537. Octob. 12. Birth of prince Edward, and death of queen Jane.

Soon after this prosperous success, an event happened which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a son, who was baptised by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happiness without allay: The queen died two days after[f]. But a son had so long been ardently wished for by Henry, and was now become so necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, after the acts declaring the two princesses illegitimate, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expressed great satisfaction on the occasion. The prince, not six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwal, and earl of Chester. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made lord Beauchamp, was raised to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz-Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; sir William Paulet, lord St. John; sir John Russel, lord Russel.

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The suppression of the rebellion, and the birth of a son, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, increased his consideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on with various success, and without any decisive event, between Charles and Francis; and though inclined more to favour the latter, he determined not to incur, without necessity, either hazard or expence on his account. A truce, concluded about this time between these potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-established the tranquillity of Europe.

Henry continued desirous of cementing a union with the German protestants; and for that purpose he sent Christopher Mount to a congress which they

[f] Strype, vol. ii. p. 5.

held

held at Brunswick; but that minister made no great progress in his negotiation. The princes wished to know what were the articles in their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him, who had orders both to negotiate and to dispute. They endeavoured to convince the king that he was guilty of a mistake in administering the eucharist in one kind only, in allowing private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy[g]. Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was displeased that they should pretend to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and syllogisms enow to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassador without coming to any conclusion. Jealous also lest his own subjects should become such theologians as to question his tenets, he used great precaution in publishing that translation of the scripture which was finished this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain: And he took care to inform the people by proclamation, "That this indulgence "was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodness "and his liberality to them; who therefore should "use it moderately, for the increase of virtue, not "of strife: And he ordered that no man should read "the Bible aloud, so as to disturb the priest while "he sang mass, nor presume to expound doubtful "places without advice from the learned." In this measure, as in the rest, he still halted half way between the catholics and the protestants.

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THERE was only one particular in which Henry was quite decisive; because he was there impelled by his avarice, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion: This measure was, the entire destruction of the monasteries. The present

Suppression of the greater monasteries.

[g] Collier, vol. ii. p. 145. From the Cott. Lib. Cleopatra, E. 5. fol. 173.

CHAP. XXXI. 1538. opportunity seemed favourable for that great enterprise, while the suppression of the late rebellion fortified and encreased the royal authority; and as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection, and of corresponding with the rebels, the king's resentment was farther incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and as several of the abbots since the breach with Rome had been named by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the design was conducted with such success, that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues.

In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction[h]. There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks,

[h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 328.

if

if endowed with induſtry, might be of ſervice to the public; and none of them could want employment ſuited to his ſtation and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a ſettlement in the marriage ſtate, an accident to which ſuch perſons were more liable than women of lower ſtation, had really no rank which ſhe properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want which attended her ſituation. But the king was determined to aboliſh monaſteries of every denomination; and probably thought that theſe ancient eſtabliſhments would be the ſooner forgotten, if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to ſubſiſt in the kingdom.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, ſtories were propagated of the deteſtable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame thoſe whom the court had determined to ruin. The reliques alſo, and other ſuperſtitions, which had ſo long been the object of the people's veneration, were expoſed to their ridicule; and the religious ſpirit, now leſs bent on exterior obſervances and ſenſible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needleſs to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Proteſtant hiſtorians mention on this occaſion, with great triumph, the ſacred repoſitories of convents; the pairings of St. Edmond's toes; ſome of the coals that roaſted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin ſhewn in eleven ſeveral places; two or three heads of St. Urſula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaſter, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's ſhirt, much reverenced by big-bellied women; ſome reliques, an excellent preventive againſt rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But ſuch fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the moſt refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the catholic religion.

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There were alſo diſcovered, or ſaid to be diſcovered, in the monaſteries, ſome impoſtures of a more artificial nature. At Hales in the county of Glouceſter there had been ſhown, during ſeveral ages, the blood of Chriſt brought from Jeruſalem; and it is eaſy to imagine the veneration with which ſuch a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumſtance alſo attended this miraculous relique; the ſacred blood was not viſible to any one in mortal ſin, even when ſet before him; and till he had performed good works ſufficient for his abſolution, it would not deign to diſcover itſelf to him. At the diſſolution of the monaſtery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks who were let into the ſecret had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: They put it in a phial, one ſide of which conſiſted of thin and tranſparent cryſtal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were ſure to ſhew him the dark ſide of the phial, till maſſes and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhauſted, they made him happy by turning the phial[i].

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilſey biſhop of Rocheſter broke the crucifix at St. Paul's croſs, and ſhowed to the whole people the ſprings and wheels by which it had been ſecretly moved. A great wooden idol revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was brought to London, and cut in pieces: And by a cruel refinement in vengeance it was employed as fuel to burn friar Foreſt[k], who was puniſhed for denying the ſupremacy, and for ſome pretended hereſies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered

i Herbert, p. 431, 432. Stowe, p. 575.
k Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 575. Herbert. Baker, p. 286.

with

with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on account of the pledge.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his reliques wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: Every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: Plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and six-pence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and six-pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three-pence. But next year the disproportion was still greater: There was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eight-pence; but St. Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three-pence [l]. Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this

[l] Burnet, vol. i. p. 244.

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miraculous tomb, and had beſtowed on the ſhrine a jewel, eſteemed the richeſt in Chriſtendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a ſaint of this character muſt appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich ſhrine dedicated to St. Thomas: He made the ſaint himſelf be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: He ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the calendar; the office for his feſtival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the aſhes to be thrown in the air.

On the whole, the king at different times ſuppreſſed ſix hundred and forty-five monaſteries: Of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a ſeat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demoliſhed in ſeveral counties; two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels: A hundred and ten hoſpitals. The whole revenue of theſe eſtabliſhments amounted to one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand one hundred pounds[m]. It is worthy of obſervation, that all the lands and poſſeſſions and revenue of England had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; ſo that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the leſſer monaſteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income: A ſum vaſtly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were uſually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themſelves as a ſpecies of proprietors, took always care to renew their leaſes before they expired[n].

Great murmurs were every where excited on account of theſe violences; and men much queſtioned whether priors and monks, who were only truſtees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however vo-

[m] Lord Herbert, Camden, Speed.
[n] See note [I] at the end of the volume.

luntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear during war as well as peace the whole charges of government [o]. While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures [p]: He either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate [q]. He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks: He erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborow, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which five subsist at this day: And by all these means of expence and dissipation the profit which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not in these respects any proportion to those of the lesser.

Beside the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tythes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands

o Coke's 4th Inst. fol. 44. p Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 800. q Fuller.

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of laymen: An abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expence of the house. We read of the abbey of Chertsey in Surrey, which possessed 744 pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: That of Furnese in the county of Lincoln was valued at 960 pounds a year, and contained about thirty[r]. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome, and how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by high-sounding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their side: He had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themselves respected; was at open hosti-

[r] Burnet, vol. i. p. 237.

ſity with heaven; and had engaged in profeſſed enmity with the whole hoſt of ſaints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his reſemblance to the emperor Julian, whom it was ſaid he imitated in his apoſtacy and learning, though he fell ſhort of him in morals. Henry could diſtinguiſh in ſome of theſe libels the ſtyle and animoſity of his kinſman Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage by every poſſible expedient on that famous cardinal.

Cardinal Pole.

REGINALD de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was deſcended from the royal family, being fourth ſon of the counteſs of Saliſbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius and generous diſpoſition by which during his whole life he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed; and Henry, having conceived great friendſhip for him, intended to raiſe him to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanery of Exeter[5], the better to ſupport him in his education. Pole was carrying on his ſtudies in the univerſity of Paris at the time when the king ſolicited the ſuffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but though applied to by the Engliſh agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendſhip with a perſon whoſe virtues and talents he hoped would prove uſeful as well as ornamental to his court and kingdom. He allowed him ſtill to poſſeſs his deanery, and gave him permiſſion to finiſh his ſtudies at Padua: He even paid him ſome court, in order to bring him into his meaſures; and wrote to him while in that univerſity, deſiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late meaſures taken in England for aboliſhing the papal authority.

[5] Goodwin's Annals.

Pole

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Pole had now contracted an intimate friendſhip with all perſons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy, Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taſte and learning; and he was moved by theſe connections, as well as by religious zeal, to forget in ſome reſpect the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and his ſovereign. He replied, by writing a treatiſe of *the unity of the church*, in which he inveighed againſt the king's ſupremacy, his divorce, his ſecond marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the Imperial family, and to the catholic cauſe. Henry, though provoked beyond meaſure at this outrage, diſſembled his reſentment; and he ſent a meſſage to Pole, deſiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain paſſages in his book, which he found ſomewhat obſcure and difficult. Pole was on his guard againſt this inſidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was univerſally beloved.

The pope and emperor thought themſelves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who in ſupport of their cauſe had ſacrificed all his pretenſions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than thoſe of a deacon, he was ſent legate into Flanders about the year 1536[t]. Henry was ſenſible that Pole's chief intention, in chuſing that employment, was to foment the mutinous diſpoſition of the Engliſh catholics; and he therefore remonſtrated in ſo vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that ſhe diſmiſſed the legate without allowing him to exerciſe his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal on his part kept no farther meaſures in his intrigues againſt Henry. He is even

[t] Herbert.

ſuſpected

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ſuſpected of having aſpired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received of the correſpondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conſpiracy with him; ſir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny; ſir Nicholas Carew, maſter of horſe and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute; and ſir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. Theſe perſons were indicted and tried and convicted before lord Audley, who preſided in the trial as high ſteward: They were all executed except ſir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having firſt carried to the king ſecret intelligence of the conſpiracy. We know little concerning the juſtice or iniquity of the ſentence pronounced againſt theſe men: We only know, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time proſecuted by the court forms no preſumption of his guilt; though, as no hiſtorian of credit mentions in the preſent caſe any complaint occaſioned by theſe trials, we may preſume that ſufficient evidence was produced againſt the marquis of Exeter and his aſſociates [u].

[u] Herbert in Kennet, p. 216.

CHAP. XXXII.

Disputation with Lambert——A parliament——Law of the six articles——Proclamations made equal to laws——Settlement of the succession——King's projects of marriage——He marries Anne of Cleves——He dislikes her——A parliament——Fall of Cromwel——His execution——King's divorce from Anne of Cleves——His marriage with Catherine Howard——State of affairs in Scotland——Discovery of the queen's dissolute life——A parliament——Ecclesiastical affairs.

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THE rough hand of Henry seemed well adapted for rending asunder those bands by which the ancient superstition had fastened itself on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, most of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would stop at those innovations. The spirit of opposition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremities against the church of Rome, and lead him to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline, of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council was summoned to meet at Mantua, he previously renounced all submission to it, as summoned by the pope, and lying entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpose; and he had prescribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer

Cranmer took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in this courſe; and while queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her inſinuation and addreſs, been ſucceſſful in his endeavours. After her death Gardiner, who was returned from his embaſſy to France, kept the king more in ſuſpenſe; and, by feigning an unlimited ſubmiſſion to his will, was frequently able to guide him to his own purpoſes. Fox biſhop of Hereford had ſupported Cranmer in his ſchemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto ſeemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to ſacrifice every thing to preſent intereſt, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner, and the partiſans of the old religion. Gardiner himſelf, it was believed, had ſecretly entered into meaſures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and in concert with theſe powers he endeavoured to preſerve, as much as poſſible, the ancient faith and worſhip.

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Henry was ſo much governed by paſſion, that nothing could have retarded his animoſity and oppoſition againſt Rome, but ſome other paſſion which ſtopped his career, and raiſed him new objects of animoſity. Though he had gradually, ſince the commencement of his ſcruples with regard to his firſt marriage, been changing the tenets of that theological ſyſtem in which he had been educated, he was no leſs poſitive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unſhaken. And though he ſtood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had ſo inflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himſelf entitled to regulate, by his own particular ſtandard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point on which he chiefly reſted his orthodoxy happened to be the real preſence; that very doctrine in which, among the numberleſs victories

of

CHAP. XXXII. 1538. of ſuperſtition over common ſenſe, her triumph is the moſt ſignal and egregious. All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and deteſtable; and nothing he thought would be more honourable for him, than while he broke off all connexions with the Roman pontiff, to maintain in this eſſential article the purity of the catholic faith.

Diſputation with Lambert.

THERE was one Lambert[w], a ſchoolmaſter in London, who had been queſtioned and confined for unſound opinions by archbiſhop Warham; but upon the death of that prelate, and the change of counſels at court, he had been releaſed. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he ſtill continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards biſhop of Lincoln, defend in a ſermon the corporal preſence, he could not forbear expreſſing to Taylor his diſſent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten ſeveral heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained, that though the ſubſtance of bread and wine remained in the ſacrament, yet the real body and blood of Chriſt were there alſo, and were in a certain myſterious manner incorporated with the material elements. By the preſent laws and practice Barnes was no leſs expoſed to the ſtake than Lambert; yet ſuch was the perſecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign puniſhment; becauſe in their common departure from the ancient faith he had dared to go one ſtep farther than himſelf. He engaged Taylor to accuſe Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion might be on theſe points, were obliged to conform themſelves to the ſtandard of orthodoxy eſtabliſhed by Henry. When Lambert was cited before theſe prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were

[w] Fox, vol. ii. p. 396.

ſurpriſed

ſurpriſed when, inſtead of complying, he ventured to appeal to the king.

The king, not diſpleaſed with an opportunity where he could at once exert his ſupremacy, and diſplay his learning, accepted the appeal; and reſolved to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magiſtrate with the diſputant. Public notice was given that he intended to enter the liſts with the ſchoolmaſter: Scaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter-hall for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the enſigns of majeſty: The prelates were placed on his right-hand; the temporal peers on his left: The judges and moſt eminent lawyers had a place aſſigned them behind the biſhops: the courtiers of greateſt diſtinction behind the peers: And in the midſt of this ſplendid aſſembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions againſt his royal antagoniſt[x].

The biſhop of Chicheſter opened the conference, by ſaying, that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his biſhop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: That though his majeſty had thrown off the uſurpation of the ſee of Rome; had diſincorporated ſome idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had aboliſhed the idolatrous worſhip of images; had publiſhed the Bible in Engliſh, for the inſtruction of all his ſubjects; and had made ſome leſſer alterations, which every one muſt approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity all departure from it: And that he had taken the preſent opportunity, before ſo learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he ſtill continued

[x] Fox, vol. ii. p. 426.

obſtinate

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obſtinate in them, he muſt expect the moſt condign puniſhment[y].

After this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king aſked Lambert, with a ſtern countenance, what his opinion was of Chriſt's corporeal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with ſome compliment to his majeſty, he rejected the praiſe with diſdain and indignation. He afterwards preſſed Lambert with arguments drawn from ſcripture and the ſchoolmen. The audience applauded the force of his reaſoning and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer ſeconded his proofs by ſome new topics: Gardiner entered the liſts as a ſupport to Cranmer: Tonſtal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokeſley brought freſh aid to Tonſtal: Six biſhops more appeared ſucceſſively in the field after Stokeſley: And the diſputation, if it deſerves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, browbeaten, and abaſhed, was at laſt reduced to ſilence. The king then returning to the charge, aſked him whether he were convinced? and he propoſed as a concluding argument, this intereſting queſtion, Whether he were reſolved to live or to die? Lambert, who poſſeſſed that courage which conſiſts in obſtinacy, replied, that he caſt himſelf wholly on his majeſty's clemency: The king told him that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore if that were his final anſwer, he muſt expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwel, as vicegerent, pronounced the ſentence againſt him[z].

Lambert, whoſe vanity had probably incited him the more to perſevere on account of the greatneſs of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the puniſhment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the ſufferings

[y] Goodwin's Annals. [z] See note [K] at the end of the volume.

of

of a man who had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: He was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and these words were in his mouth when he expired[a]. CHAP. XXXII. 1538.

SOME few days before this execution, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the same sect and country were burned in Smithfield[b].

IT was the unhappy fate of the English during this age, that, when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the satisfaction of expecting redress from parliament: On the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that assembly, and were then sure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with some circumstance, which the arbitrary prince and his ministers had not hitherto devised, or did not think proper of themselves to carry into execution. This abject servility never appeared more conspicuously than in a new parliament, which the king now assembled, and which, if he had been so pleased, might have been the last that ever sat in England. But he found them too useful instruments of dominion ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total exclusion. 1539. A parliament. 28th April.

THE chancellor opened the parliament by informing the house of lords, that it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion; and as this undertaking was, he owned, important and arduous, he desired them to chuse a committee from among

[a] Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 427. Burnet.
[b] Stowe, p. 556.

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themselves, who might draw up certain articles of faith, and communicate them afterwards to the parliament. The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwel, now created a peer, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The house might have seen what a hopeful task they had undertaken: This small committee itself was agitated with such diversity of opinion, that it could come to no conclusion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the house, That, since there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, intended to be established, should be reduced to six; and a new committee be appointed to draw an act with regard to them. As this peer was understood to speak the sense of the king, his motion was immediately complied with; and after a short prorogation, the bill of the *six articles*, or the bloody bill, as the protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two houses, received the royal assent.

Law of the six articles.

In this law the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article with regard to the real presence, subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: An unheard of severity, and unknown to the inquisition itself. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure: An obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, and punishable with death. The marriage of priests was subjected to the same punishment. Their commerce with women was, on the first offence, forfeiture and imprisonment;

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prisonment; on the second, death. The abstaining from confession, and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times, subjected the person to fine and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable by death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony [c]. Commissioners were to be appointed by the king for inquiring into these heresies and irregular practices; and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

The king, in framing this law, laid his oppressive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had reason to complain, that the friars and nuns, though dismissed their convent, should be capriciously restrained to the practice of celibacy [d]: But as the protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the statute, the misery of adversaries, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion, as their own prosperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppose this bill in the house; and though the king desired him to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance [e]. Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and sincerity; and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unusual indulgence in this particular, and never allowed even a whisper against him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife, the niece of Osiander, a famous divine of Nuremberg [f]; and Henry, satisfied with this proof of submission, showed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their bishoprics on account of the law, and were committed to prison.

c 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14. Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.
d See note [L] at the end of the volume.
e Burnet, vol. i. p. 249. 270. Fox, vol. ii. p. 1037.
f Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.

 THE

CHAP. XXXII. 1539. Proclamations made equal to laws.

THE parliament having thus resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire surrender of their civil; and without scruple or deliberation they made by one act a total subversion of the English constitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worse, if possible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority. The preamble contains, that the king had formerly set forth several proclamations, which froward persons had wilfully contemned, not considering what a king by his royal power may do; that this licence might encourage offenders not only to disobey the laws of Almighty God, but also to dishonour the king's most royal majesty, *who may full ill bear it*; that sudden emergencies often occur, which require speedy remedies, and cannot await the slow assembling and deliberations of parliament; and that, though the king was empowered by his authority derived from God, to consult the public good on these occasions, yet the opposition of refractory subjects might push him to extremity and violence: For these reasons the parliament, that they might remove all occasion of doubt, ascertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majesty, with the advice of his council, to set forth proclamations enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he should think proper: And these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws [g].

WHAT proves either a stupid or a wilful blindness in the parliament is, that they pretended, even after this statute, to maintain some limitations in the government; and they enacted, that no proclamation should deprive any person of his lawful possessions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchises;

[g] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

nor

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nor yet infringe any common law or laudable cuſtom of the realm. They did not conſider that no penalty could be inflicted upon the diſobeying of proclamations, without invading ſome liberty or property of the ſubject; and that the power of enacting new laws joined to the diſpenſing power, then exerciſed by the crown, amounted to a full legiſlative authority. It is true, the kings of England had always been accuſtomed from their own authority to iſſue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a ſtrong ſymptom of abſolute government: But ſtill there was a difference between a power which was exerciſed on a particular emergence, and which muſt be juſtified by the preſent expedience or neceſſity; and an authority conferred by a poſitive ſtatute, which could no longer admit of control or limitation.

Could any act be more oppoſite to the ſpirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the ſame parliament. They paſſed an act of attainder not only againſt the marquis of Exeter, the lords Montacute, Darcy, Huſſey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but alſo againſt ſome perſons of the higheſt quality, who had never been accuſed, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred which Henry bore to cardinal Pole had extended itſelf to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the counteſs of Saliſbury, had on that account become extremely obnoxious to him. She was alſo accuſed of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from reading the new tranſlation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which it is ſaid had been ſeen at Coudray, her country ſeat; and of having kept a correſpondence with her ſon, the cardinal: But Henry found, either that theſe offences could not be proved, or that they would not by

CHAP. XXXII. 1539. law be ſubjected to ſuch ſevere puniſhments as he deſired to inflict upon her. He reſolved, therefore, to proceed in a more ſummary and more tyrannical manner; and for that purpoſe he ſent Cromwel, who was but too obſequious to his will, to aſk the judges whether the parliament could attaint a perſon who was forth-coming, without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them[h]? The judges replied, that it was a dangerous queſtion, and that the high court of parliament ought to give the example to inferior courts, of proceeding according to juſtice: No inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being preſſed to give a more explicit anſwer, they replied, that if a perſon were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought in queſtion, but muſt remain good in law. Henry learned by this deciſion, that ſuch a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was anxious to know, he reſolved to employ it againſt the counteſs of Saliſbury. Cromwel ſhowed to the houſe of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Chriſt, the ſymbol choſen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the counteſs's houſe[i]. No other proof ſeems to have been produced in order to aſcertain her guilt: The parliament, without farther inquiry, paſſed a bill of attainder againſt her; and they involved in the ſame bill, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude marchioneſs of Exeter, ſir Adrian Forteſcue, and ſir Thomas Dingley. Theſe two gentlemen were executed: The marchioneſs was pardoned, and ſurvived the king; the counteſs received a reprieve.

[h] Coke's 4th Inſt. p. 37, 38. [i] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 652.

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The only beneficial act passed this session, was that by which the parliament confirmed the surrender of the monasteries; yet even this act contains much falsehood, much tyranny, and were it not that all private rights must submit to public interest, much injustice and iniquity. The scheme of engaging the abbots to surrender their monasteries had been conducted, as may easily be imagined, with many invidious circumstances: Arts of all kinds had been employed; every motive that could work on the frailty of human nature had been set before them; and it was with great difficulty that these dignified conventuals were brought to make a concession, which most of them regarded as destructive of their interests, as well as sacrilegious and criminal in itself[k]. Three abbots had shown more constancy than the rest, the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastenbury; and in order to punish them for their opposition, and make them an example to others, means had been found to convict them of treason; they had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited[l]. Besides, though none of these violences had taken place, the king knew that a surrender made by men who were only tenants for life, would not bear examination; and he was therefore resolved to make all sure by his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act, the parliament asserts, that all the surrenders made by the abbots had been, "without constraint, of "their own accord, and according to due course "of common law." And in consequence, the two houses confirm the surrenders, and secure the property of the abbey lands to the king and his successors for ever[m]. It is remarkable, that all the mitred abbots still sat in the house of peers; and

[k] Collier, vol. ii. p. 158. & seq. [l] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10. [m] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

 that

CHAP. XXXII. 1539. that none of them made any protests against this injurious statute.

In this session the rank of all the great officers of state was fixed: Cromwel, as vicegerent, had the precedency assigned him above all of them. It was thought singular, that a blacksmith's son, for he was no other, should have place next the royal family; and that a man possessed of no manner of literature should be set at the head of the church.

As soon as the act of the six articles had passed, the catholics were extremely vigilant in informing against offenders; and no less than five hundred persons were in a little time thrown into prison. But Cromwel, who had not had interest to prevent that act, was able for the present to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk and chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents; and he obtained permission to set them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No sooner had Henry passed this law, which seemed to inflict so deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family: A concession regarded by that party as an important victory.

Henry's projects of marriage.

But as Henry was observed to be much governed by his wives while he retained his fondness for them, the final prevalence of either party seemed much to depend on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all his wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He first cast his eye towards the dutchess-dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made proposals for that alliance. But meeting with difficulties, he was carried by his friendship for Francis rather to think of a French princess.

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He demanded the dutchefs-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guife, a prince of the houfe of Lorraine; but Francis told him, that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. The king, however, would not take a refufal: He had fet his heart extremely on the match: The information which he had received of the dutchefs's accomplifhments and beauty, had prepoffeffed him in her favour; and having privately fent over Meautys to examine her perfon, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts which that agent brought him ferved farther to inflame his defires. He learned that fhe was big made; and he thought her on that account the more proper match for him who was now become fomewhat corpulent. The pleafure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to his profecution of this match; and he infifted that Francis fhould give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis, though fenfible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his interefts, would not affront his friend and ally; and to prevent farther folicitation, he immediately fent the princefs to Scotland. Not to fhock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but as the king was informed that James had formerly rejected this princefs, he would not hear any farther of fuch a propofal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger fifters of the queen of Scots; and he affured him that they were nowife inferior either in merit or fize to their elder fifter, and that one of them was even fuperior in beauty. The king was as fcrupulous with regard to the perfon of his wives as if his heart had been really fufceptible of a delicate paffion; and he was unwilling to truft any relations, or even pictures, with regard to this important particular. He propofed to Francis, that they

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CHAP. XXXII. 1539. they ſhould have a conference at Calais, on pretence of buſineſs; and that this monarch ſhould bring along with him the two princeſſes of Guiſe, together with the fineſt ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant ſpirit of Francis was ſhocked with the propoſal: He was impreſſed with too much regard, he ſaid, for the fair ſex, to carry ladies of the firſt quality like geldings to a market there to be choſen or rejected by the humour of the purchaſer[n]. Henry would hearken to none of theſe niceties, but ſtill inſiſted on his propoſal; which, however, notwithſtanding Francis's earneſt deſire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

THE king then began to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and, as the princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely diſguſted with the emperor on account of his perſecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himſelf into one of their families, to renew a connexion which he regarded as ſo advantageous to him. Cromwel joyfully ſeconded this intention; and propoſed to him Anne of Cleves, whoſe father, the duke of that name, had great intereſt among the Lutheran princes, and whoſe ſiſter, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the proteſtant league. A flattering picture of the princeſs by Hans Holben determined Henry to apply to her father; and after ſome negociation, the marriage, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the elector of Saxony, was at laſt concluded; and Anne was ſent over to England. The king, impatient to be ſatisfied with regard to the perſon of his bride, came privately to Rocheſter, and got a ſight of her. He found her big indeed, and tall, as he could wiſh; but utterly deſtitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and repreſentations which he had received: He ſwore

He marries Anne of Cleves.

[n] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 638.

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ſhe was a great Flanders mare; and declared that he never could poſſibly bear her any affection. The matter was worſe when he found that ſhe could ſpeak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her converſation were not likely to compenſate for the homelineſs of her perſon. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and he much lamented his hard fate to Cromwel, as well as to lord Ruſſel, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Anthony Denny. This laſt gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private perſons, chuſe for themſelves; but muſt receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

Diſlikes her.

It was the ſubject of debate among the king's counſellors, whether the marriage could not yet be diſſolved, and the princeſs be ſent back to her own country. Henry's ſituation ſeemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce concluded between the emperor and the king of France, a good underſtanding was thought to have taken place between theſe rival monarchs; and ſuch marks of union appeared as gave great jealouſy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a confidence in him, which is rare to that degree among great princes. An inſurrection had been raiſed in the Low-Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and ſeemed to threaten the moſt dangerous conſequences. Charles, who reſided at that time in Spain, reſolved to go in perſon to Flanders, in order to appeaſe thoſe diſorders; but he found great difficulties in chuſing the manner of his paſſing thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious; the voyage through the channel dangerous, by reaſon of the Engliſh naval power: He aſked Francis's permiſſion to paſs through his dominions; and he entruſted himſelf into the hands of a rival whom he had ſo

6 mortally

CHAP. XXXII. 1539. mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris with great magnificence and courtesy; and though prompted both by revenge and interest, as well as by the advice of his mistress and favourites, to make advantage of the present opportunity, he conducted the emperor safely out of his dominions; and would not so much as speak to him of business during his abode in France, lest his demands should bear the air of violence upon his royal guest.

HENRY, who was informed of all these particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between these princes; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England [o]. An alliance with the German princes seemed now more than ever requisite for his interest and safety; and he knew that if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family. He was therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwel, that since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwel, who knew how much his own interests were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his spouse any better. The king told him that he hated her worse than ever; and that her person was more disgusting on a near approach: He was resolved never to meddle with her; and even suspected her not to be a true maid: A point about which he entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwel; but though he exerted this command over himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity.

1540. 6th Jan.

[o] Stowe, p. 579.

A SESSION

A SESSION of parliament was held; and none of the abbots were now allowed a place in the house of peers. The king, by the mouth of the chancellor, complained to the parliament of the great diversity of religions which still prevailed among his subjects: A grievance, he affirmed, which ought the less to be endured because the Scriptures were now published in English, and ought universally to be the standard of belief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he said, some bishops and divines to draw up a list of tenets to which his people were to assent; and he was determined that Christ, the doctrine of Christ, and the truth, should have the victory. The king seems to have expected more effect in ascertaining truth, from this new book of his doctors, than had ensued from the publication of the Scriptures. Cromwel, as vicar-general, made also, in the king's name, a speech to the upper house; and the peers in return bestowed great flattery on him, and in particular said, that he was worthy, by his desert, to be vicar-general of the universe. That minister seemed to be no less in his master's good graces: He received soon after the sitting of the parliament, the title of earl of Essex, and was installed knight of the garter.

CHAP. XXXII. 1540. 12th April. A parliament.

THERE remained only one religious order in England; the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly ecclesiastical, partly military, had by their valour done great service to Christendom; and had very much retarded at Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progress of the barbarians. During the general surrender of the religious houses in England, they had exerted their spirit, and had obstinately refused to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no society that professed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourse to parliament for the dissolution of this

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this order. Their revenues were large, and formed an addition nowise contemptible to the many acquisitions which the king had already made. But he had very ill husbanded the great revenue acquired by the plunder of the church: His profuse generosity dissipated faster than his rapacity could supply; and the parliament was surprised this session to find a demand made upon them of four tenths, and a subsidy of one shilling in the pound during two years: So ill were the public expectations answered, that the crown was never more to require any supply from the people. The commons, though lavish of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow-subjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty so small a grant could be obtained by this absolute and dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the king four shillings in the pound, to be levied in two years. The pretext for these grants was, the great expence which Henry had undergone for the defence of the realm, in building forts along the sea-coast, and in equipping a navy. As he had at present no ally on the continent in whom he reposed much confidence, he relied only on his domestic strength, and was on that account obliged to be more expensive in his preparations against the danger of an invasion.

THE king's favour to Cromwel, and his acquiescence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances: His aversion to the queen secretly increased every day; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwel was hastened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of such low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar-general, but had engrossed many of the other considerable

Fall of Cromwel.

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ſiderable offices of the crown: Beſides enjoying that commiſſion, which gave him a high and almoſt abſolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy ſeal, chamberlain, and maſter of the wards: He had alſo obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of illuſtrious families, and which ſeemed to be profaned by its being communicated to ſo mean a perſon. The people were averſe to him, as the ſuppoſed author of the violence on the monaſteries; eſtabliſhments which were ſtill revered and beloved by the commonalty. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: The proteſtants, obſerving his exterior concurrence with all the perſecutions exerciſed againſt them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found that great clamours had on all hands ariſen againſt the adminiſtration, was not diſpleaſed to throw on Cromwel the load of public hatred; and he hoped by making ſo eaſy a ſacrifice to regain the affections of his ſubjects.

But there was another cauſe which ſuddenly ſet all theſe motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the miniſtry. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new paſſion, he could find no expedient but by procuring a divorce from his preſent conſort, to raiſe Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwel, made the ſame uſe of her inſinuations to ruin this miniſter, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's againſt Wolſey: And when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commiſſion from the king to arreſt Cromwel at the council-table, on an accuſation of high treaſon, and to commit him

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to the Tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed againſt him; and the houſe of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the univerſe. The houſe of commons paſſed the bill, though not without ſome oppoſition. Cromwel was accuſed of hereſy and treaſon; but the proofs of his treaſonable practices are utterly improbable, and even abſolutely ridiculous[p]. The only circumſtance of his conduct by which he ſeems to have merited this fate was his being the inſtrument of the king's tyranny, in conducting like iniquitous bills in the preceding ſeſſion, againſt the counteſs of Saliſbury and others.

Cromwel endeavoured to ſoften the king by the moſt humble ſupplications; but all to no purpoſe: It was not the practice of that prince to ruin his miniſters and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy priſoner once wrote to him in ſo moving a ſtrain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himſelf againſt all movements of pity, and refuſed his pardon. The concluſion of Cromwel's letter ran in theſe words: "I, a moſt woful priſoner, am ready to ſubmit to death when it ſhall "pleaſe God and your majeſty; and yet the frail "fleſh incites me to call to your grace for mercy "and pardon of mine offences. Written at the "Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand "of your highneſs's moſt miſerable priſoner, and "poor ſlave, Thomas Cromwel." And a little below, "Moſt gracious prince, I cry for mercy, "mercy, mercy[q]." When brought to the place of execution, he avoided all earneſt proteſtations of his innocence, and all complaints againſt the ſentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry

28th July. His execution.

[p] Burnet, vol. i. p. 278.

[q] Burnet, vol. i. p. 281, 282.

would resent on his son those symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no insolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had served as a private centinel in the Italian wars; when he received some good offices from a Lucquese merchant, who had entirely forgotten his person, as well as the service which he had rendered him. Cromwel in his grandeur happened at London to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty by misfortunes. He immediately sent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and by his grateful assistance reinstated him in his former prosperity and opulence[r].

King's divorce from Anne of Cleves.

THE measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwel. The house of peers, in conjunction with the commons, applied to the king by petition, desiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine; but she, as well as the duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by consent of both parties. The king, however, pleaded this precontract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reasons more, which may seem a little extraordinary; that when he espoused Anne he had not *inwardly* given his consent, and that he had not thought proper to consummate the marriage. The convocation was satisfied with these reasons, and

[r] Burnet, vol. i. p. 172.

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solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen: The parliament ratified the decision of the clergy[s]; and the sentence was soon after notified to the princess.

Anne was blest with a happy insensibility of temper, even in the points which the most nearly affect her sex; and the king's aversion towards her, as well as his prosecution of the divorce, had never given her the least uneasiness. She willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her; she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce[t]. She even wrote to her brother (for her father was now dead), that she had been very well used in England, and desired him to live on good terms with the king. The only instance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return to her own country after the affront which she had received; and she lived and died in England.

Notwithstanding Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but as the situation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their resentment. The close intimacy which had taken place between Francis and Charles had subsisted during a very short time: The dissimilarity of their characters soon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealousy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that satisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make in confidence some dangerous discoveries to that interested monarch; and having now lost all

[s] See note [M] at the end of the volume.
[t] Herbert, p. 458, 459.

suspi-

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suspicion of his rival, he hoped that the emperor and he, supporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his guest the state of his negotiations with sultan Solyman and the Venetians; he also laid open the solicitations which he had received from the court of England to enter into a confederacy against him [u]. Charles had no sooner reached his own dominions, than he shewed himself unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He absolutely refused to fulfil his promise, and put the duke of Orleans in possession of the Milanese: He informed Solyman and the senate of Venice of the treatment which they had received from their ally; and he took care that Henry should not be ignorant how readily Francis had abandoned his ancient friend, to whom he owed such important obligations, and had sacrificed him to a new confederate: He even poisoned and misrepresented many things which the unsuspecting heart of the French monarch had disclosed to him. Had Henry possessed true judgment and generosity, this incident alone had been sufficient to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendship of Francis, who had so unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor: And as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient amity, he willingly accepted of the offer; and thinking himself secure in this alliance, he neglected the friendship both of France and of the German princes.

THE new turn which Henry had taken with regard to foreign affairs was extremely agreeable to his catholic subjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reasons, to the ruin of Cromwel, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagonists. The marriage of the king with Catherine Howard, which followed soon after his

8th Aug. His marriage with Catherine Howard.

[u] Pere Daniel, Du Tillet.

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divorce from Anne of Cleves, was alſo regarded as a favourable incident to their party; and the ſubſequent events correſponded to their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious perſecution commenced againſt the proteſtants; and the law of the ſix articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cauſe of Lambert's execution, felt in his turn the ſeverity of the perſecuting ſpirit; and, by a bill which paſſed in parliament, he was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. He diſcuſſed theological queſtions even at the ſtake; and as the diſpute between him and the ſheriff turned upon the invocation of ſaints, he ſaid, that he doubted whether the ſaints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped in half an hour to be praying for the ſheriff and all the ſpectators. He next entreated the ſheriff to carry to the king his dying requeſt, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch who had ſent him to the ſtake. The purport of his requeſt was, that Henry, beſides repreſſing ſuperſtitious ceremonies, ſhould be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common ſwearing [w].

While Henry was exerting his violence againſt the proteſtants, he ſpared not the catholics who denied his ſupremacy; and a foreigner at that time in England had reaſon to ſay, that thoſe who were againſt the pope were burned, and thoſe who were for him were hanged [x]. The king even diſplayed in an oſtentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to ſubjection, and infuſed terror into every breaſt. Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was alſo executed for his religion. Theſe catholics were Abel, Fether-

[w] Burnet, vol. i. p. 298. Fox.

[x] Fox, vol. ii. p. 529.

ſtone,

ſtone, and Powel, who declared that the moſt grievous part of their puniſhment was the being coupled to ſuch hereticalmiſcreants as ſuffered with them[y]. CHAP. XXXII. 1541.

THOUGH the ſpirit of the Engliſh ſeemed to be totally ſunk under the deſpotic power of Henry, there appeared ſome ſymptoms of diſcontent: An inconſiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkſhire, headed by ſir John Nevil; but it was ſoon ſuppreſſed, and Nevil, with other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were ſuppoſed to have been inſtigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the king was inſtantly determined to make the counteſs of Saliſbury, who already lay under ſentence of death, ſuffer for her ſon's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution; and this venerable matron maintained ſtill, in theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, the ſpirit of that long race of monarchs from whom ſhe was deſcended[z]. She refuſed to lay her head on the block, or ſubmit to a ſentence where ſhe had received no trial. She told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he muſt win it the beſt way he could: And thus, ſhaking her venerable grey locks, ſhe ran about the ſcaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitleſs blows at her neck before he was able to give the fatal ſtroke. Thus periſhed the laſt of the line of Plantagenet, which with great glory, but ſtill greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the ſpace of three hundred years. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered ſervice to the crown, was alſo beheaded for treaſon ſoon after the counteſs of Saliſbury. We know little concerning the grounds of his proſecution. 27th May.

THE inſurrection in the North engaged Henry to make a progreſs thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to reconcile them to his government, and to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtitions, to which

y Saunders, de Schiſm. Angl. z Herbert, p. 468.

CHAP. XXXII. 1541.

those parts were much addicted. He had also another motive for this journey: He purposed to have a conference at York with his nephew the king of Scotland; and, if possible, to cement a close and indissoluble union with that kingdom.

State of affairs in Scotland.

THE same spirit of religious innovation which had seized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, before this period, to excite the same jealousies, fears, and persecutions. About the year 1527, Patric Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was sent abroad for his education; but had fallen into company with some reformers, and he returned into his own country, very ill disposed towards that church, of which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the highest dignities. The fervour of youth, and his zeal for novelty, made it impossible for him to conceal his sentiments; and Campbel, prior of the Dominicans, who under colour of friendship and a sympathy in opinion had insinuated himself into his confidence, accused him before Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St. Andrews, in order to maintain with some of the clergy a dispute concerning the controverted points; and after much reasoning with regard to justification, free-will, original sin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burned for his errors. The young man, who had been deaf to the insinuations of ambition, was less likely to be shaken with the fears of death; while he proposed to himself both the glory of bearing testimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people, who compassionated his youth, his virtue, and his noble birth, were much moved at the constancy of his end; and an incident which soon followed still more confirmed them in their favourable sentiments towards him. He had cited Campbel, who still insulted him at the stake, to answer before

before the judgment-feat of Chrift; and as that perfecutor, either aftonifhed with thefe events, or overcome with remorfe, or, perhaps, feized cafually with a diftemper, foon after loft his fenfes, and fell into a fever, of which he died; the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet as well as a martyr [a].

Among the difciples converted by Hamilton, was one friar Forreft, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly difcover his fentiments, was fufpected to lean towards the new opinions. His diocefan the bifhop of Dunkel enjoined him, when he met with a good epiftle or good gofpel which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the reft alone. Forreft replied, that he had read both Old and New Teftament, and had not found an ill epiftle or ill gofpel in any part of them. The extreme attachment to the fcriptures was regarded in thofe days as a fure characteriftic of herefy; and Forreft was foon after brought to trial, and condemned to the flames. While the priefts were deliberating on the place of his execution, a byftander advifed them to burn him in a cellar: For that the fmoke of Mr. Patric Hamilton had infected all thofe on whom it blew [b].

The clergy were at that time reduced to great difficulties, not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total fubverfion of ancient eftablifhments, which they reprefented as idolatrous, impious, and deteftable; the priefts, who found both their honours and properties at ftake, thought that they had a right to refift, by every expedient, thefe dangerous invaders, and that the fame fimple principles of equity which juftified a man in killing a pirate or a robber, would acquit them for the execution of fuch heretics. A toleration, though it is never acceptable to ecclefiaftics, might, they faid,

[a] Spotfwood's Hift. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.
[b] Ibid. p. 65.

CHAP. XXXII. 1541. be admitted in other cafes; but feemed an abfurdity where fundamentals were fhaken, and where the poffeffions and even the exiftence of the eftablifhed clergy were brought in danger. But though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of perfecution, they found the fuccefs of this remedy very precarious, and obferved, that the enthufiaftic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by punifhment, was apt to prove contagious on the compaffionate minds of the fpectators. The new doctrine, amidft all the dangers to which it was expofed, fecretly fpread itfelf every where; and the minds of men were gradually difpofed to a revolution in religion.

But the moft dangerous fymptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from the example of England, had caft a wifhful eye on the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themfelves by the plunder of the ecclefiaftics. James himfelf, who was very poor, and was fomewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been fwayed by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the fame fate that had attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry alfo never ceafed exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and being moved both by the pride of making profelytes, and the profpect of fecurity, fhould Scotland embrace a clofe union with him, he folicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promife to that purpofe.

The ecclefiaftics were alarmed at this refolution of James, and they employed every expedient in order to prevent the execution of it. They reprefented the danger of innovation; the pernicious confequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himfelf into the hands of the Englifh, his hereditary enemies; the dependence on them which muft enfue upon his lofing the friendfhip of France, and of all foreign

powers.

powers. To these considerations they added the prospect of immediate interest, by which they found the king to be much governed: They offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds: They promised him that the church should always be ready to contribute to his supply: And they pointed out to him the confiscation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thousand pounds a-year to the crown revenues[c]. The insinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and address had given a powerful influence over him, seconded all these reasons; and James was at last engaged first to delay his journey, then to send excuses to the king of England, who had already come to York, in order to be present at the interview[d].

Henry, vexed with the disappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began, by permitting piracies at sea and incursions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received soon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more sensible, and which touched him in a point where he always shewed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage: The agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned solemn thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him; and he directed the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of prayer for that purpose. But the

c Buchanan, lib. xiv. Drummond in Ja. 5. Pitscotie, ibid. Knox.

d Henry had sent some books, richly ornamented, to his nephew, who, as soon as he saw by the titles that they had a tendency to defend the new doctrines, threw them into the fire, in the presence of the person who brought them: Adding, it was better he should destroy them than they him. See Epist Reginald. Pole. pars 1. p. 172.

CHAP. XXXII. 1541. Discovery of the queen's dissolute life.

queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness: One Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer: and told him that his sister, formerly a servant in the family of the old dutchess of Norfolk, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the dutchess, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other servants of the family. The primate, struck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford, and to the chancellor. They agreed that the matter should by no means be buried in silence; and the archbishop himself seemed the most proper person to disclose it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to speak on so delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely astonished at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his consort, that at first he gave no credit to the information; and he said to the privy-seal, to lord Russel high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothesley, that he regarded the whole as a falsehood. Cranmer was now in a very perilous situation; and had not full proof been found, certain and inevitable destruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealousy, prompted him to search the matter to the bottom: The privy-seal was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in the information he had given; and still appealed to his sister's testimony. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and went to Sussex, where the woman at that time resided: He found her both constant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arrested at the same time, and

examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confeſſion; and diſcovered other particulars, which redounded ſtill more to her diſhonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her ſecrets, and ſome of them had even paſſed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was ſo deeply affected that he remained a long time ſpeechleſs, and at laſt burſt into tears. He found, to his ſurpriſe, that his great ſkill in diſtinguiſhing a true maid, of which he boaſted in the caſe of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his preſent conſort. The queen being next queſtioned, denied her guilt; but when informed that a full diſcovery was made, ſhe confeſſed that ſhe had been criminal before marriage; and only inſiſted that ſhe had never been falſe to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that one Colepepper had paſſed the night with her alone ſince her marriage; and as it appeared that ſhe had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her ſervice, ſhe ſeemed to deſerve little credit in this aſſeveration; and the king, beſides, was not of a humour to make any difference between theſe degrees of guilt. 1541.

HENRY found that he could not by any means ſo fully or expeditiouſly ſatiate his vengeance on all theſe criminals, as by aſſembling a parliament, the uſual inſtrument of his tyranny. The two houſes, having received the queen's confeſſion, made an addreſs to the king. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were ſubject; but to conſider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from theſe views to derive a ſubject of conſolation. They deſired leave to paſs a bill of attainder againſt the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his aſſent to this bill, not in perſon, which would renew his vexation, and might endan- 1542. 6th Jan.

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CHAP. XXXII. 1542. ger his health, but by commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe. And as there was a law in force, making it treaſon to ſpeak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon if any of them ſhould, on the preſent occaſion, have tranſgreſſed any part of the ſtatute.

Having obtained a gracious anſwer to theſe requeſts, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treaſon againſt the queen, and the viſcounteſs of Rocheford, who had conducted her ſecret amours; and in this bill Colepepper and Derham were alſo comprehended. At the ſame time they paſſed a bill of attainder for miſpriſion of treaſon againſt the old dutcheſs of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the counteſs of Bridgewater, and nine perſons more; becauſe they knew the queen's vicious courſe of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's uſual extravagance, to expect that parents ſhould ſo far forget the ties of natural affection, and the ſentiments of ſhame and decency, as to reveal to him the moſt ſecret diſorders of their family. He himſelf ſeems to have been ſenſible of the cruelty of this proceeding: For he pardoned the dutcheſs of Norfolk, and moſt of the others condemned for miſpriſion of treaſon.

However, to ſecure himſelf for the future, as well as his ſucceſſors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to paſs a law ſomewhat extraordinary. It was enacted, That any one who knew, or vehemently ſuſpected any guilt in the queen, might within twenty days diſcloſe it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law againſt defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one at the ſame time from ſpreading the matter abroad, or even privately whiſpering it to others: It was alſo enacted, That if the king married

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ried any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon if ſhe did not previouſly reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this ſingular clauſe, and ſaid, that the king muſt henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be perſuaded to incur the penalty of the ſtatute [e]. After all theſe laws were paſſed, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner ſuitable to their diſſolute life: And as lady Rocheford was known to be the chief inſtrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, ſhe died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the diſcovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable ſentiments which they had entertained of that unfortunate queen.

The king made no demand of any ſubſidy from this parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter: He took farther ſteps towards the diſſolution of colleges, hoſpitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practiſing on the preſidents and governors to make a ſurrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been ſucceſsful with eight of them. But there was an obſtacle to their farther progreſs: It had been provided, by the local ſtatutes of moſt of theſe foundations, that no preſident or any number of fellows could conſent to ſuch a deed, without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not eaſily obtained. All ſuch ſtatutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of theſe houſes were now expoſed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites [f]. The church had been ſo long their prey that nobody was ſurpriſed at any new inroads made upon her. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devaſtations on the ſecular clergy. He extorted from many of the

[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 314.

[f] See note [N] at the end of the volume.

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bishops a surrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the sees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parasites and flatterers with their spoils.

Ecclesiastic affairs.

THE clergy have been commonly so fortunate as to make a concern for their temporal interests go hand in hand with a jealousy for orthodoxy; and both these passions be regarded by the people, ignorant and superstitious, as proofs of zeal for religion: But the violent and headstrong character of Henry now disjoined these objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church, his bigotry and arrogance by persecuting heretics. Though he engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the six articles, so far as regards the marriage of priests, which was now only subjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands, during life; he was still equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative principles. He had appointed a commission consisting of the two archbishops, and several bishops of both provinces, together with a considerable number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy, he had given them in charge to chuse a religion for his people. Before the commissioners had made any progress in this arduous undertaking, the parliament in 1541 had passed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which these divines should thereafter establish with the king's consent: And they were not ashamed of thus expressly declaring that they took their religion upon trust, and had no other rule, in spiritual as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their master. There is only one clause of the statute which may seem at first sight to favour somewhat of the spirit of liberty: It was enacted, That the ecclesiastical commissioners should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But in reality this proviso was inserted by the king, to serve his own purposes. By introducing a confusion and

and contradiction into the laws, he became more master of every one's life and property. And as the ancient independence of the church still gave him jealousy, he was well pleased, under cover of such a clause, to introduce appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reason that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges on all occasions to interpose in ecclesiastical causes, wherever they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation; though at first invented for arbitrary purposes!

CHAP. XXXII. 1543.

THE king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgment of that spiritual supremacy which he believed inherent in him, employed his commissioners to select a system of tenets for the assent and belief of the nation. A small volume was soon after published, called the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the standard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of justification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers: The sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, were now increased to the number of seven, conformably to the sentiments of the catholics. The king's caprice is discernible throughout the whole; and the book is in reality to be regarded as his composition. For Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would tie his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himself had formerly established.

THE people had occasion, soon after, to see a farther instance of the king's inconstancy. He was not long satisfied with his institution of a Christian Man: He ordered a new book to be composed, called the *Erudition of a Christian Man*; and without asking the assent of the convocation, he published,

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lished, by his own authority, and that of the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the Institution[g]; but the king was no less positive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his signal. In both these compositions he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; and he was equally careful to retain the nation in the practice.

WHILE the king was spreading his own books among the people, he seems to have been extremely perplexed, as were also the clergy, what course to take with the scriptures. A review had been made by the synod, of the new translation of the Bible; and Gardiner had proposed, that instead of employing English expressions throughout, several Latin words should still be preserved; because they contained, as he pretended, such peculiar energy and significance, that they had no correspondent terms in the vulgar tongue[h]. Among these were, *ecclesia*, *pœnitentia*, *pontifex*, *contritus*, *holocausta*, *sacramentum*, *elementa*, *ceremonia*, *mysterium*, *presbyter*, *sacrificium*, *humilitas*, *satisfactio*, *peccatum*, *gratia*, *hostia*, *charitas*, &c. But as this mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpose than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the proposal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, at least their disputative turn, seemed to be an inconvenience still more dangerous; and the king and parliament[i], soon after the publication of the scriptures, retracted the concession which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from perusing them[k]. Even that liberty was

[g] Collier, vol. ii. p. 190.

[h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 315.

[i] Which met on the 22d of January 1543.

[k] 33 Hen. VIII. c. 1. The reading of the Bible, however, could not at that time have much effect in England, where so few persons had

was not granted without an apparent hesitation, and a dread of the consequences: These persons were allowed to read, *so it be done quietly and with good order.* And the preamble to the act sets forth, "That many seditious and ignorant persons had "abused the liberty granted them of reading the "Bible, and that great diversity of opinion, animosi-"ties, tumults, and schisms, had been occasioned by "perverting the sense of the scriptures." It seemed very difficult to reconcile the king's model for uniformity with the permission of free inquiry.

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The mass-book also passed under the king's revisal; and little alteration was as yet made in it: Some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of the pope was erazed. This latter precaution was likewise used with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was sold. The word Pope was carefully omitted or blotted out[l]; as if that precaution could abolish the term from the language, or as if such a persecution of it did not rather imprint it more strongly in the memory of the people.

The king took care about this time to clear the churches from another abuse which had creeped into them. Plays, interludes, and farces were there often acted in derision of the former superstitions; and the reverence of the multitude for ancient principles and modes of worship was thereby gradually effaced[m]. We do not hear that the catholics attempted to retaliate, by employing this powerful engine against their adversaries, or endeavoured by like arts to expose that fanatical spirit by which it appears the reformers were frequently actuated. Perhaps the people were not disposed to relish a jest on that side:

had learned to read. There were but 500 copies printed of this first authorised edition of the Bible; a book of which there are now several millions of copies in the kingdom.

[l] Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 113.
[m] Burnet, vol. i. p. 318.

CHAP. XXXII. 1542.

Perhaps the greater ſimplicity and the more ſpiritual abſtract worſhip of the proteſtants, gave leſs hold to ridicule, which is commonly founded on ſenſible repreſentations. It was, therefore, a very agreeable conceſſion which the king made to the catholic party, to ſuppreſs entirely theſe religious comedies.

Thus Henry laboured inceſſantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal ſtatutes, to bring his ſubjects to an uniformity in their religious ſentiments: But as he entered himſelf with the greateſt earneſtneſs into all thoſe ſcholaſtic diſputes, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however preſent fear might reſtrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any ſet of tenets or opinions preſcribed to them.

SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

CHAP. XXXIII.

War with Scotland——Victory at Solway——Death of James V.——Treaty with Scotland——New rupture——Rupture with France——A parliament——Affairs of Scotland——A parliament——Campaign in France——A parliament——Peace with France and Scotland——Persecutions——Execution of the earl of Surrey——Attainder of the duke of Norfolk——Death of the king——His character——Miscellaneous transactions.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1542. War with Scotland.

HENRY, being determined to avenge himself on the king of Scots for slighting the advances which he had made him, would gladly have obtained a supply from parliament, in order to prosecute that enterprise; but as he did not think it prudent to discover his intentions, that assembly, conformably to their frugal maxims, would understand no hints; and the king was disappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and as soon as he thought himself in a condition to invade Scotland, he published a manifesto, by which he endeavoured to justify hostilities. He complained of James's breach of word, in declining the promised interview; which was the real ground of the quarrel[n]: But in order to give a more specious colouring to the enterprise, he mentioned other injuries; namely, that his nephew had granted protection to some English rebels and fugitives, and had detained some territory, which Henry pretended

[n] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond in James the Fifth.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1542. belonged to England. He even revived the old claim to the vassalage of Scotland, and he summoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and superior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and though James sent the bishop of Aberdeen and sir James Learmont of Darsay to appease his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was assembling his army at Newcastle, sir Robert Bowes, attended by sir Ralph Sadler, sir Ralph Evers, sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incursion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and destroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas his brother, who had been many years banished their country, and had subsisted by Henry's bounty, joined the English army in this excursion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, exceeded four thousand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had posted a considerable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vassals, was hastening to join Huntley when
24th Aug. he met with the English army; and an action immediately ensued. During the engagement the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the English, afraid of being surrounded and overpowered, took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and some other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners. A few only of small note, fell in the skirmish [o].

The duke of Norfolk, meanwhile, began to move from his camp at Newcastle; and being attended by the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he advanced to the borders. His forces amounted

[o] Buchanan, lib. 14.

to

to above twenty thouſand men; and it required the utmoſt efforts of Scotland to reſiſt ſuch a formidable armament. James had aſſembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance as ſoon as he ſhould be informed of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The Engliſh paſſed the Tweed at Berwic, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelſo; but hearing that James had collected near thirty thouſand men, they repaſſed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country [p]. The king of Scots, inflamed with a deſire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the ſignal for purſuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was ſurpriſed to find that his nobility, who were in general diſaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, oppoſed this reſolution, and refuſed to attend him in his projected enterpriſe. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but ſtill reſolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impreſſion on the enemy. He ſent ten thouſand men to the weſtern borders, who entered England at Solway frith; and he himſelf followed them at a ſmall diſtance, ready to join them upon occaſion. Diſguſted, however, at the refractory diſpoſition of his nobles, he ſent a meſſage to the army, depriving lord Maxwel their general of his commiſſion, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely diſguſted with this alteration, and was ready to diſband; when a ſmall body of Engliſh appeared, not exceeding 500 men, under the command of Dacres and Muſgrave. A panic ſeized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout; for it was no action; but a great

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24th Nov. Victory at Solway.

[p] Buchanan, lib. 14.

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many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility: Among these the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwel, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all sent to London, and given in custody to different noblemen.

THE king of Scots, hearing of this disaster, was astonished; and being naturally of a melancholic disposition, as well as endowed with a high spirit, he lost all command of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who he believed had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or a female child? Being told the latter; he turned himself in his bed: "The crown came with "a woman," said he, "and it will go with one: "Many miseries await this poor kingdom: Henry "will make it his own either by force of arms or "by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince of considerable virtues and talents; well fitted, by his vigilance and personal courage, for repressing those disorders to which his kingdom during that age was so much exposed. He executed justice with impartiality and rigour; but as he supported the commonalty and the church against the rapine of the nobility, he escaped not the hatred of that order. The protestants also, whom he opposed, have endeavoured to throw many stains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any considerable imputation upon him [q].

14th Dec. Death of James the Fifth.

[q] See note [O] at the end of the volume.

HENRY

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Henry was no sooner informed of his victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as James had foreseen, the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward to the heiress of that kingdom [r]. He called together the Scottish nobles who were his prisoners; and after reproaching them in severe terms for their pretended breach of treaty, he began to soften his tone, and proposed to them this expedient, by which he hoped those disorders, so prejudicial to both states, would for the future be prevented. He offered to bestow on them their liberty without ransom; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young mistress. They were easily prevailed on to give their assent to a proposal which seemed so natural and so advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcastle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials were not completed: And they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in some confusion.

The pope, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions, had bestowed on Beaton the primate the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence upon him; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to James, and as the head of that party which defended the ancient privileges and property of the ecclesiastics. Upon the death of his master, this man, apprehensive of the consequences, both to his party and to himself, endeavoured to keep possession of power; and for that purpose he is accused of executing a deed, which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is said, a will for the king, appointing himself, and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during

[r] Stowe, p. 584. Herbert, Burnet, Buchanan.

the

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the minority of the infant princess[s]: At least, for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation[t]. By virtue of this will Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and having united his interests with those of the queen-dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

JAMES earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter of James III. and on that account seemed best entitled to possess that high office into which the cardinal had intruded himself. The prospect also of his succession after a princess, who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partisans; and though his character indicated little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propensity which he had discovered for the new opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of those innovations. By means of these adherents, joined to the vassals of his own family, he had been able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the suspicion of Beaton's forgery, with the accession of the noblemen who had been prisoners in England, assisted too by some money sent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the present opportunity of returning into their native country, opposed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced opposite interests to those which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to custody under the care of lord Seton; and a nego-

[s] Sadler's Letters, p. 161. Spotswood, p. 71. Buchanan, lib. 15.
[t] John Knox, History of the Reformation.

tiation

tiation was commenced with sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales. The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen should remain in Scotland till she should be ten years of age; that she should then be sent to England to be educated; that six Scottish noblemen should immediately be delivered as hostages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, should still retain its laws and privileges [u]. By means of these equitable conditions the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with such dismal calamities, seemed to be fully composed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and amity.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1543. Treaty with Scotland.

But the cardinal-primate, having prevailed on Seton to restore him to his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound all these measures, which appeared so well concerted. He assembled the most considerable ecclesiastics; and having represented to them the imminent danger to which their revenues and privileges were exposed, he persuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large sum of money, by which, if entrusted to his management, he engaged to overturn the schemes of their enemies [w]. Besides the partisans whom he acquired by pecuniary motives, he roused up the zeal of those who were attached to the catholic worship; and he represented the union with England as the sure forerunner of ruin to the church and to the ancient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots to their southern neighbours was also an infallible engine by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and though the terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to make resistance, had procured a temporary assent to the alliance and marriage proposed, the settled habits of the nation produced an extreme aversion to

[u] Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters.

[w] Buchanan, lib. 15.

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to those measures. The English ambassador and his retinue received many insults from persons whom the cardinal had instigated to commit those violences, in hopes of bringing on a rupture: But Sadler prudently dissembled the matter; and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impression, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promise which they had given of returning into custody. None of them showed so much sentiment of honour as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy earl of Cassilis. Henry was so well pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciously, but honoured him with presents, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers whom he had left as hostages [x].

New rupture.

THIS behaviour of the Scottish nobles, though it reflected dishonour on the nation, was not disagreeable to the cardinal, who foresaw that all these persons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And as a war was soon expected with that kingdom, he found it necessary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the assistance of that ancient ally during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. Though the French king was fully sensible of his interest in supporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unseasonable juncture. His pretensions on the Milanese, and his resent-

[x] Buchanan, lib. 15.

1543.

ment againſt Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and having made great though fruitleſs efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more diſabled at preſent from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any ſuccour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, ſent him over to his native country, as a ſupport to the cardinal and the queen-mother: And he promiſed that a ſupply of money, and, if neceſſary, even military ſuccours, ſhould ſoon be diſpatched after him. Arran the governor, ſeeing all theſe preparations againſt him, aſſembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the perſon of the infant queen into his cuſtody; but being repulſed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to entruſt that precious charge to four neutral perſons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areſkines, Lindſeys, and Levingſtones. The arrival of Lenox, in the midſt of theſe tranſactions, ſerved to render the victory of the French party over the Engliſh ſtill more indiſputable [y].

Rupture with France.

THE oppoſition which Henry met with in Scotland from the French intrigues excited his reſentment, and farther confirmed the reſolution which he had already taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with thoſe of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaint againſt the French king, which, though not of great importance, yet being recent, were able to overbalance thoſe great injuries which he had formerly received from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in ſeparating himſelf entirely from the

[y] Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond.

ſee

CHAP. XXXIII. 1543. see of Rome, and that he had broken his promise in that particular. He was dissatisfied that James his nephew had been allowed to marry, first Magdalene of France, then a princess of the house of Guise; and he considered these alliances as pledges which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scots against the power of England[z]. He had been informed of some railleries which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He was disgusted that Francis, after so many obligations which he owed him, had sacrificed him to the emperor; and in the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle and interested monarch. And he complained that regular payments were never made of the sums due to him by France, and of the pension which had been stipulated. Impelled by all these motives, he alienated himself from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who earnestly courted his alliance. This league, besides stipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of twenty-five thousand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the sums which he owed him, and to consign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a security for the regular payment of his pension for the future: In case these conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or, in default of it, the dutchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles, the dutchy of Burgundy, and some other territories[a]. That they might have a pretence for enforcing these claims, they sent a message to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with Sultan Solyman, and to make reparation

[z] Pere Daniel. [a] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 768. vol. xv. p. 2.

for

for all the prejudice which Chriſtendom had ſuſtained from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refuſal, war was declared againſt him by the allies. It may be proper to remark, that the partiſans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical king of England, as no leſs obnoxious than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman: And they obſerved, that this league was a breach of the ſolemn promiſe which he had given to Clement VII. never to make peace or alliance with England.

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WHILE the treaty with the emperor was negotiating, the king ſummoned a new ſeſſion of parliament, in order to obtain ſupplies for his projected war with France. The parliament granted him a ſubſidy, to be paid in three years: It was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three ſhillings in the pound upon any individual[b]. The convocation gave the king ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater ſums were always, even during the eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laity: Which made the emperor Charles ſay, when Henry diſſolved the monaſteries, and ſold their revenues, or beſtowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs[c].

22d Jan. A parliament.

THE parliament alſo faciliated the execution of the former law, by which the king's proclamations were made equal to ſtatutes: They appointed that any nine counſellors ſhould form a legal court for

b They who were worth in goods twenty ſhillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, ſixteen pence; from twenty and upwards, two ſhillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty ſhillings to five pounds, paid eight pence in the pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, ſixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two ſhillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three ſhillings.

c Collier, vol. ii. p. 176.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1543. punishing all disobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal causes, as well as of all parliaments, seemed, if the king had so pleased, the necessary consequence of this enormous law. He might issue a proclamation, enjoining the execution of any penal statute, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the statute, but for disobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable that lord Mountjoy entered a protest against this law; and it is equally remarkable, that that protest is the only one entered against any public bill during this whole reign[d].

It was enacted[e] this session, That any spiritual person who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, or contrary to any doctrine which he should *thereafter* promulgate, was to be admitted on the first conviction to renounce his error; on the second, he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refused to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual imprisonment. Indictments must be laid within a year after the offence, and the prisoner was allowed to bring witnesses for his exculpation. These penalties were lighter than those which were formerly imposed on a denial of the real presence: It was, however, subjoined in this statute, that the act of the six articles was still in force. But in order to make the king more entirely master of his people, it was enacted, That he might hereafter at his pleasure change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause both parties were retained in subjection: So far as regarded religion, the king was invested in the fullest manner with the sole legislative authority in his kingdom: And all his subjects were, under the severest penalties, expressly bound to re-

[d] Burnet, p. 322. [e] 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. i.

ceive

ceive implicitly whatever doctrine he should please to recommend to them. CHAP. XXXIII.

THE reformers began to entertain hopes that this great power of the crown might still be employed in their favour. The king married Catherine Par, widow of Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage Henry confirmed what had formerly been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow. The king's league with the emperor seemed a circumstance no less favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions. 1543. 12th July.

THE advantages gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles were inconsiderable during the present year. The campaign was opened with a victory gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor[f]: Francis in person took the field early; and made himself master, without resistance, of the whole dutchy of Luxembourg: He afterwards took Landrecy, and added some fortifications to it. Charles having at last assembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and after taking almost every fortress in the dutchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to accept of the terms which he was pleased to prescribe to him. Being then joined by a body of six thousand English, he sat down before Landrecy, and covered the siege with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to raise the siege: But while these two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men were in expectation of some great event, the French king found means of throwing succour into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpose, he skilfully made a retreat. Charles, find-

[f] Memoires du Bellay, lib. 10.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1543. Affairs of Scotland.

ing the feafon far advanced, defpaired of fuccefs in his enterprife, and found it neceffary to go into winter quarters.

THE vanity of Henry was flattered by the figure which he made in the great tranfactions on the continent: But the interefts of his kingdom were more deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of fo indolent and unambitious a character, that had he not been ftimulated by his friends and dependants, he never had afpired to any fhare in the adminiftration; and when he found himfelf overpowered by the party of the queen-dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he was glad to accept of any terms of accommodation, however difhonourable. He even gave them a fure pledge of his fincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himfelf to the Romifh communion in the Francifcan church at Stirling. By this weaknefs and levity he loft his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the proteftants, who were hitherto the chief fupport of his power, his mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired an entire afcendant in the kingdom: The queen-dowager placed implicit confidence in him: The governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretenfion: Lenox alone was become an obftacle to his meafures, and reduced him to fome difficulty.

THE inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran made the interefts of thefe two noblemen entirely incompatible; and as the cardinal and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their caufe, had flattered him with the hopes of fucceeding to the crown after their infant fovereign, this rivalfhip had tended ftill farther to roufe the animofity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to afpire to the marriage of the queen-dowager, which would have given him fome pretenfions to the regency; and as he

he was become assuming on account of the services which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found that since he must chuse between the friendship of Lenox and that of Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more easily governed, and who was invested with present authority, was in every respect preferable. Lenox, finding that he was not likely to succeed in his pretensions to the queen-dowager, and that Arran, favoured by the cardinal, had acquired the ascendancy, retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely at his devotion: He entered into a secret correspondence with the English court; and he summoned his vassals and partisans to attend him. All those who were inclined to the protestant religion, or were on any account discontented with the cardinal's administration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and they readily made him a tender of their services. In a little time he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose to him; but as he was a prudent man, he foresaw that Lenox could not long subsist so great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time by opening a negotiation with him. He seduced his followers by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglasses to change party; he represented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: And Lenox, observing the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was at last obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Present peace was restored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the arrival of English succours, from whose assistance alone he expected to obtain the superiority over his enemies.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1544. Jan. 14. A parliament.

While the winter ſeaſon reſtrained Henry from military operations, he ſummoned a new parliament; in which a law was paſſed, ſuch as he was pleaſed to dictate, with regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown. After declaring that the prince of Wales or any of the king's male iſſue, were firſt and immediate heirs to the crown, the parliament reſtored the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of ſucceſſion. This ſeemed a reaſonable piece of juſtice, and corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confuſion; but it was impoſſible for Henry to do any thing, how laudable ſoever, without betraying, in ſome circumſtance, his uſual extravagance and caprice: Though he opened the way for theſe two princeſſes to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reverſed which had declared them illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of ſtill excluding them, if they refuſed to ſubmit to any conditions which he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe; and he required them to enact, that in default of his own iſſue, he might diſpoſe of the crown as he pleaſed, by will or letters patent. He did not probably foreſee, that, in proportion as he degraded the parliament, by rendering it the paſſive inſtrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all its acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purpoſes which he was ſo bent to attain.

An act paſſed, declaring that the king's uſual ſtyle ſhould be "King of England, France, and "Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth the "ſupreme head of the church of England and Ire-"land." It ſeemed a palpable inconſiſtency to retain the title of Defender of the Faith which the court of Rome had conferred on him, for maintaining its cauſe againſt Luther; and yet ſubjoin his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy in oppoſition to the claims of that court.

An act also passed for the remission of the debt which the king had lately contracted by a general loan, levied upon the people. It will easily be believed, that after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary [g]. But there was a peculiar circumstance attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of; namely, that those who had already gotten payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the money to the exchequer.

The oaths which Henry imposed for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's supremacy; but as the clauses to which they swore had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths should be understood to have taken the new one [h]. A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken.

The most commendable law to which the parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the six articles, and enacted, that no person should be put to his trial upon an accusation concerning any of the offences comprised in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons before commissioners authorised for the purpose; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he was indicted. Any preacher accused of speaking in his sermon contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days.

The king always experienced the limits of his authority whenever he demanded subsidies, however moderate, from the parliament; and therefore, not

g 35 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

h 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

 to

CHAP. XXXIII. 1544.

to hazard a refusal, he made no mention this season of a supply: But as his wars both in France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects: And he enhanced gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight an ounce; and silver from three shillings and nine pence to four shillings. His pretence for this innovation was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could anywise serve the purpose. He even coined some base money, and ordered it to be current by proclamation. He named commissioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about seventy thousand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London[i], a man somewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute, or not coming up to the expectation of the commissioners, was inrolled as a foot-soldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large composition[k]. These powers of the prerogative (which at that time passed unquestioned), the compelling of any man to serve in any office, and the imprisoning of any man during pleasure, not to mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the sovereign in a manner absolute master of the person and property of every individual.

Early this year the king sent a fleet and an army to invade Scotland. The fleet consisted of near two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten thousand men. Dudley lord Lisle commanded the sea-forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were disembarked[l] near Leith; and, after dispersing a

[i] Herbert. Stowe, p. 583. Baker, p. 292.
[k] Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 508.

small

ſmall body which oppoſed them, they took that town without reſiſtance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were ſoon beaten down (for little or no reſiſtance was made); and the Engliſh firſt pillaged, and then ſet fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppoſe ſo great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eaſtward; and being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the eaſt marches, he laid waſte the whole country, burned and deſtroyed Haddington and Dunbar, then retreated into England; having loſt only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected ſome forces; but finding that the Engliſh were already departed, he turned them againſt Lenox, who was juſtly ſuſpected of a correſpondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making ſome reſiſtance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry ſettled a penſion on him, and even gave him his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox ſtipulated conditions by which, had he been able to execute them, he muſt have reduced his country to total ſervitude [l].

CHAP. XXXIII. 1544.

Henry's policy was blamed in this ſudden and violent incurſion; by which he inflamed the paſſions of the Scots, without ſubduing their ſpirit; and it was commonly ſaid, that he did too much if he intended to ſolicit an alliance, and too little if he meant a conqueſt [m]. But the reaſon of his recalling the troops ſo ſoon was, his eagerneſs to carry on a projected enterpriſe againſt France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of that monarchy, and muſt, as a neceſſary conſequence, have involved the ruin of England. Theſe two princes had agreed to invade France with forces, amounting to above a hundred thouſand men: Henry engaged to ſet out from Calais;

[l] Rymer, vol. xv. p. 23. 29.
[m] Herbert. Burnet.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1544.

lais; Charles from the Low Countries: They were to enter on no siege; but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. Francis could not oppose to these formidable preparations much above forty thousand men.

14th July. Campaign in France.

Henry, having appointed the queen regent during his absence, passed over to Calais with thirty thousand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet lord St. John, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, lord Grey of Wilton, sir Anthony Brown, sir Francis Bryan, and the most flourishing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The English army was soon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; and the whole composed an army which nothing on that frontier was able to resist. The chief force of the French armies was drawn to the side of Champagne, in order to oppose the Imperialists.

The emperor, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and not to lose time, while he waited for the arrival of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which was surrendered to him: He thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuse, which he took: Ligny met with the same fate: He next laid siege to St. Disier on the Marne, which though a weak place made a brave resistance, under the count of Sancerre the governor, and the siege was protracted beyond expectation.

The emperor was employed before this town at the time the English forces were assembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceless condition of the French frontier, or thinking that the emperor had first broken his engagement, by forming sieges, or perhaps foreseeing at last the dangerous conse-

quences

1544.

quences of entirely ſubduing the French power, inſtead of marching forward to Paris, ſat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: The king himſelf that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corſe, a brave old ſoldier, who encouraged the garriſon to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity againſt the Engliſh. He was killed during the courſe of the ſiege, and the town was immediately ſurrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin; who was afterwards beheaded for this diſhonourable capitulation. 14th Sept.

During the courſe of this ſiege Charles had taken St. Diſier; and finding the ſeaſon much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, ſince all his ſchemes for ſubduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deſerting his ally, he ſent a meſſenger to the Engliſh camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the ſiege of Boulogne to raiſe it with honour, and that the emperor himſelf had firſt broken the concert by beſieging St. Diſier. This anſwer ſerved Charles as a ſufficient reaſon for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of England. He ſtipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's ſecond ſon; and Francis in return withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, ſo advantageous to Francis, was procured partly by the deciſive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialiſts at Ceriſôlles in Piedmont, partly by the emperor's great deſire to turn his arms againſt the proteſtant princes in Germany. 18th Sept.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1544. 30th Sept. Charles ordered his troops to ſeparate from the Engliſh in Picardy; and Henry, finding himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign ſerved to the populace as matter of great triumph; but all men of ſenſe concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterpriſes, made, at a great expence, an acquiſition which was of no importance.

THE war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various ſucceſs. Sir Ralph Evers, now lord Evers, and ſir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into that kingdom; and having laid waſte the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merſe, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took poſſeſſion of and fortified. The governor aſſembled an army of eight thouſand men, in order to diſlodge them from this poſt; but he had no ſooner opened his batteries before the place than a ſudden panic ſeized him; he left the army, and fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehenſions leſt they ſhould deliver him into the hands of the Engliſh: But his own unwarlike ſpirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this diſhonourable flight. The Scottiſh army, upon the departure of their general, fell into confuſion; and had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the Engliſh might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this ſucceſs, boaſted to Henry that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important ſervice. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty ſuch acquiſitions would be maintained againſt a warlike enemy, adviſed the king to grant him, as his reward, the conqueſts of which he boaſted ſo highly. The next inroad made by the Engliſh ſhewed the vanity of
1545. Evers's hopes. This general led about five thouſand

sand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in ravaging that country; when intelligence was brought him that some Scottish forces appeared near the abbey of Melross. Angus had roused the governor to more activity; and a proclamation being issued for assembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a considerable body had repaired thither to oppose the enemy. Norman Lesly, son of the earl of Rothes, had also joined the army with some volunteers from Fife; and he inspired courage into the whole, as well by this accession of force, as by his personal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the necessity of a steady defence, the Scottish leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount; and they resolved to wait, on some high grounds near Ancram, the assault of the English. The English, whose past successes had taught them too much to despise the enemy, thought, when they saw the Scottish horses led off the field, that the whole army was retiring; and they hastened to attack them. The Scots received them in good order; and being favoured by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the surprise of the English, who expected no resistance, they soon put them to flight, and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis some time after sent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery lord of Lorges[k]. Reinforced by these succours, the governor assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and having met with no considerable resistance, he retired into his own country, and disbanded his army. The earl of Hert-

CHAP. XXXIII. 1545.

17th Feb.

[k] Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond.

4 ford,

CHAP. XXXIII. 1545.

ford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and weſt marches; and the war on both ſides was ſignaliſed rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any conſiderable advantage gained by either party.

THE war likewiſe between France and England was not diſtinguiſhed this year by any memorable event. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred ſail, beſides gallies; and having embarked ſome land-forces on board, he ſent them to make a deſcent in England[1]. They ſailed to the Iſle of Wight, where they found the Engliſh fleet lying at anchor in St. Helen's. It conſiſted not of above a hundred ſail; and the admiral thought it moſt adviſable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow channels and the rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and except the ſinking of the Mary Roſe, one of the largeſt ſhips of the Engliſh fleet, the damage on both ſides was inconſiderable.

FRANCIS's chief intention in equipping ſo great a fleet was, to prevent the Engliſh from throwing ſuccours into Boulogne, which he reſolved to beſiege; and for that purpoſe, he ordered a fort to be built, by which he intended to block up the harbour. After a conſiderable loſs of time and money, the fort was found ſo ill conſtructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had aſſembled on that frontier an army of near forty thouſand men, he was not able to effect any conſiderable enterpriſe. Henry, in order to defend his poſſeſſions in France, had levied fourteen thouſand Germans; who having marched to Fleurines in the biſhopric of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a paſſage through his dominions: They received intelligence of a ſu-

1 Beleair. Memoires du Bellay.

perior

perior army on the side of France ready to intercept them: Want of occupation and of pay soon produced a mutiny among them: And having seized the English commissaries as a security for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There seems to have been some want of foresight in this expensive armament. CHAP. XXXIII. 1545.

THE great expence of these two wars maintained by Henry, obliged him to summon a new parliament. The commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings a pound on land[n]: The spirituality voted him six shillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured to save themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property: By one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels[o], and hospitals. Henry was pleased with this concession, as it increased his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he soon took care to inform the universities that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus these ancient and celebrated establishments owe their existence to the generosity of the king, not to the protection of this servile and prostitute parliament. 23d Nov. A parliament.

THE prostitute spirit of the parliament farther appeared in the preamble of a statute[p], in which they recognise the king to have always been, by the

[n] Those who possessed goods or money above five pounds and below ten, were to pay eight pence a pound: Those above ten pounds, a shilling.

[o] A chauntry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in some cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily to say mass, or perform divine service, for the use of the founders, or such others as they appointed: Free chapels were independent on any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the former. Jacob's Law Dict.

[p] 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

word

CHAP. XXXIII. 1545. word of God, ſupreme head of the church of England; and acknowledge that archbiſhops, biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtical perſons, have no manner of juriſdiction but by his royal mandate: To him alone, ſay they, and ſuch perſons as he ſhall appoint, full power and authority is given from above to hear and determine all manner of cauſes, eccleſiaſtical, and to correct all manner of hereſies, errors, vices, and ſins whatſoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, or even of a parliament. His proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, control their words, and even direct their inward ſentiments and opinions.

24th Dec. THE king made, in perſon, a ſpeech to the parliament on proroguing them; in which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he ſaid, equalled what was ever paid by their anceſtors to any king of England, he complained of their diſſenſions, diſputes, and animoſities in religion. He told them, that the ſeveral pulpits were become a kind of batteries againſt each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptiſt, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papiſt and hypocrite: That he had permitted his people the uſe of the ſcriptures, not in order to furniſh them with materials for diſputing and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their conſciences, and inſtruct their children and families: That it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was proſtituted, by being introduced into the converſation of every alehouſe and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the ſpiritual and legal paſtors: And that he was ſorry to obſerve that the word of God, while it was the object of ſo much anxious ſpeculation, had very little influence on their practice;

tice; and that though an imaginary knowledge so much abounded, charity was daily going to decay [q]. The king gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging speculation and dispute, was ill fitted to promote that peaceable submission of opinion which he recommended. CHAP. XXXIII. 1545.

HENRY employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and he sent over the earl of Hertford and lord Lisle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of small moment ensued with the French; and no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either party. Henry, whose animosity against Francis was not violent, had given sufficient vent to his humour by this short war; and finding that from his great increase in corpulence and decay in strength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was desirous of ending a quarrel which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewise, on his part, was not averse to peace with England; because having lately lost his son the duke of Orleans, he revived his ancient claim upon Milan, and foresaw that hostilities must soon, on that account, break out between him and the emperor. Commissioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a small place between Ardres and Guisnes, the articles were soon agreed on, and the peace signed by them. The chief conditions were, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis should be paid. This debt was settled at two millions of livres, besides a claim of 500,000 livres, which was afterwards to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war which cost him above one million three hundred 1546. 7th June. Peace with France and Scotland.

[q] Hall, fol. 261. Herbert, p. 534.

and

CHAP. XXXIII. 1546.

and forty thouſand pounds ſterling[r], was a bad and a chargeable ſecurity for a debt which was not a third of the value.

The king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leiſure to give his attention to domeſtic affairs; particularly to the eſtabliſhment of uniformity in opinion, on which he was ſo intent. Though he allowed an Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the maſs in Latin; but he was at laſt prevailed on to permit that the litany, a conſiderable part of the ſervice, ſhould be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and, by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been ſomewhat diſcouraged by the ſevere law of the ſix articles. One petition of the new litany was a prayer to ſave us *from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and from all his deteſtable enormities.* Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's abſence, who was ſent on an embaſſy to the emperor: But Gardiner having written to the king, that if he carried his oppoſition againſt the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the ſucceſs of Cranmer's projects was for ſome time retarded. Cranmer loſt this year the moſt ſincere and powerful friend that he poſſeſſed at court, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk: The queen-dowager of France, conſort to Suffolk, had died ſome years before. This nobleman is one inſtance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and ſteady friendſhip; and Suffolk ſeems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earlieſt youth, he had enjoyed with his maſter. The king was ſitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the opportunity both to expreſs his own ſorrow for the loſs, and to celebrate the me-

r Herbert. Stowe.

rits,

rits, of the deceased. He declared, that during the whole course of their friendship, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person. "Is there any of you, my lords, "who can say as much?" When the king subjoined these words, he looked round in all their faces, and saw that confusion which the consciousness of secret guilt naturally threw upon them [s].

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CRANMER himself, when bereaved of this support, was the more exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition in party and religion, joined to the usual motives of interest, rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry, seeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and desired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promising that, if he were found guilty, he should be committed to prison, and brought to condign punishment. Every body now considered the primate as lost; and his old friends, from interested views, as well as the opposite party from animosity, began to show him marks of neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the Tower. Cranmer said, that he appealed to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and

[s] Coke's Inst. cap. 99.

when

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when they came before the king, he reproved them in the severest terms; and told them that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy: But he was determined to crush all their cabals, and to teach them, by the severest discipline, since gentle methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his service. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and said, that their only intention was to set the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial: And Henry obliged them all to embrace him as a sign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more sincere on his part, than is usual in such forced compliances [t].

Persecutions.

But though Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered fruitless all accusations against him, his pride and peevishness, irritated by his declining state of health, impelled him to punish with fresh severity all others who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the capital point of the real presence. Anne Ascue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty [u], who had great connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herself, was accused of dogmatizing on that delicate article; and Henry, instead of shewing indulgence to the weakness of her sex and age, was but the more provoked that a woman should dare to oppose his theological sentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a seeming recantation; but she qualified it with some reserves, which did not satisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into prison, and she there employed herself in composing prayers and discourses, by which she fortified her resolution to endure the utmost extremity rather than relinquish

[t] Burnet, vol. i. p. 343, 344. Antiq. Brit. in vitâ Cranm.
[u] Bale. Speed, 780.

her

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her religious principles. She even wrote to the king, and told him, that as to the Lord's ſupper, ſhe believed as much as Chriſt himſelf had ſaid of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church had required: But while ſhe could not be brought to acknowledge an aſſent to the king's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a freſh inſult. The chancellor Wriotheſely, who had ſucceeded Audley, and who was much attached to the catholic party, was ſent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correſpondence with her: But ſhe maintained a laudable fidelity to her friends, and would confeſs nothing. She was put to the torture in the moſt barbarous manner, and continued ſtill reſolute in preſerving ſecrecy. Some authors [w] add an extraordinary circumſtance: That the chancellor, who ſtood by, ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to ſtretch the rack ſtill farther; but that officer refuſed compliance: The chancellor menaced him; but met with a new refuſal: Upon which that magiſtrate, who was otherwiſe a perſon of merit, but intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it ſo violently that he almoſt tore her body aſunder. Her conſtancy ſtill ſurpaſſed the barbarity of her perſecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being ſo diſlocated by the rack that ſhe could not ſtand, ſhe was carried to the ſtake in a chair. Together with her were conducted Nicholas Belenian a prieſt, John Laſſels of the king's houſehold, and John Adams a taylor, who had been con-

[w] Fox, vol. ii. p. 578. Speed, p. 780. Baker, p. 299. But Burnet queſtions the truth of this circumſtance: Fox, however, tranſcribes her own paper, where ſhe relates it. I muſt add in juſtice to the king, that he diſapproved of Wriotheſely's conduct, and commended the lieutenant.

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demned for the same crime to the same punishment. They were all tied to the stake; and in that dreadful situation the chancellor sent to inform them that their pardon was ready drawn and signed, and should instantly be given them, if they would merit it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames, which consumed them. Wriothesely did not consider, that this public and noted situation interested their honour the more to maintain a steady perseverance.

THOUGH the secrecy and fidelity of Anne Ascue saved the queen from this peril, that princess soon after fell into a new danger, from which she narrowly escaped. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than usually peevish and passionate. The queen attended him with the most tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured by every soothing art and compliance, to allay those gusts of humour to which he was become so subject. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catherine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praised the king's anxious concern for preserving the orthodoxy of his subjects; and represented, that the more elevated the person was who was chastised, and the more near to his person, the greater terror would the example strike into every one, and the more glorious would the

ſacrifice appear to poſterity. The chancellor, being conſulted, was engaged by religious zeal to ſecond theſe topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counſellors, went ſo far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up againſt his conſort. Wriotheſely executed his commands; and ſoon after brought the paper to him to be ſigned: For as it was high-treaſon to throw ſlander upon the queen, he might otherwiſe have been queſtioned for his temerity. By ſome means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was ſenſible of the extreme danger to which ſhe was expoſed; but did not deſpair of being able, by her prudence and addreſs, ſtill to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her uſual viſit to the king, and found him in a more ſerene diſpoſition than ſhe had reaſon to expect. He entered on the ſubject which was ſo familiar to him; and he ſeemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the converſation, and remarked that ſuch profound ſpeculations were ill ſuited to the natural imbecility of her ſex. Women, ſhe ſaid, by their firſt creation, were made ſubject to men: The male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: It belonged to the huſband to chuſe principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all caſes, to adopt implicitly the ſentiments of her huſband: And as to herſelf, it was doubly her duty, being bleſt with a huſband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to chuſe principles for his own family, but for the moſt wiſe and knowing of every nation. "Not ſo! by St. Mary," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and "better fitted to give than receive inſtruction." She meekly replied, that ſhe was ſenſible how little

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she was entitled to these praises; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew, that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish, when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also purposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics whence she had observed by frequent experience that she reaped profit and instruction. "And is it so, "sweetheart?" replied the king; "then are we "perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this sudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the Tower, pursuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner: She even overheard the appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast*, which he liberally bestowed upon that magistrate; and then ordered him to depart his presence: She afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger: He said to her, "Poor soul! you know "not how ill entitled this man is to your good "offices." Thenceforth the queen, having narrowly escaped so great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain his favour and good opinion [x].

[x] Burnet, vol. i. p. 344. Herbert, p. 560. Speed, p. 780. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 58.

BUT

But Henry's tyrannical diſpoſition, ſoured by ill health, burſt out ſoon after to the deſtruction of a man who poſſeſſed a much ſuperior rank to that of Gardiner. The duke of Norfolk and his father, during this whole reign, and even a part of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greateſt ſubjects in the kingdom, and had rendered conſiderable ſervice to the crown. The duke himſelf had in his youth acquired reputation by naval enterpriſes: He had much contributed to the victory gained over the Scots at Flouden: He had ſuppreſſed a dangerous rebellion in the North: And he had always done his part with honour in all the expeditions againſt France. Fortune ſeemed to conſpire with his own induſtry, in raiſing him to the greateſt elevation. From the favours heaped on him by the crown he had acquired an immenſe eſtate: The king had ſucceſſively been married to two of his nieces; and the king's natural ſon, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter: Beſides his deſcent from the ancient family of the Moubrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had eſpouſed a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was deſcended by a female from Edward III.: And as he was believed ſtill to adhere ſecretly to the ancient religion, he was regarded, both abroad and at home, as the head of the catholic party. But all theſe circumſtances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealouſy of Henry; and he foreſaw danger, during his ſon's minority, both to the public tranquillity and to the new eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem, from the attempts of ſo potent a ſubject. But nothing tended more to expoſe Norfolk to the king's diſpleaſure, than the prejudices which Henry had entertained againſt the earl of Surrey, ſon of that nobleman.

Surrey was a young man of the moſt promiſing hopes, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by every ac-

CHAP. XXXIII. 1546. compliſhment which became a ſcholar, a courtier, and a ſoldier. He excelled in all the military exerciſes which were then in requeſt: He encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example: He had made ſome ſucceſsful attempts in poetry; and being ſmitten with the romantic gallantry of the age, he celebrated the praiſes of his miſtreſs, by his pen and his lance, in every maſque and tournament. His ſpirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reſerve which his ſituation required. He had been left governor of Boulogne when that town was taken by Henry; but though his perſonal bravery was unqueſtioned, he had been unfortunate in ſome rencounters with the French. The king, ſomewhat diſpleaſed with his conduct, had ſent over Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was ſo imprudent as to drop ſome menacing expreſſions againſt the miniſters, on account of this affront which was put upon him. And as he had refuſed to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every other propoſal of marriage, Henry imagined that he had entertained views of eſpouſing the lady Mary; and he was inſtantly determined to repreſs, by the moſt ſevere expedients, ſo dangerous an ambition.

Actuated by all theſe motives, and perhaps influenced by that old diſguſt with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inſpired him againſt her whole family, he gave private orders to arreſt Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the ſame
12th Dec. day confined in the Tower. Surrey being a com-
1547. moner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries ſeem ever to have given the leaſt attention to them in any
Execution of the earl of Surrey. cauſe of the crown during this whole reign. He was accuſed of entertaining in his family ſome Italians who were *ſuſpected* to be ſpies; a ſervant of

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of his had paid a viſit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was *ſuſpected* of holding a correſpondence with that obnoxious prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confeſſor on his ſcutcheon, which made him be *ſuſpected* of aſpiring to the crown, though both he and his anceſtors had openly, during the courſe of many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even juſtified it by their authority. Theſe were the crimes for which a jury, notwithſtanding his eloquent and ſpirited defence, condemned the earl of Surrey for high treaſon; and their ſentence was ſoon after executed upon him.

Attainder of the duke of Norfolk.

THE innocence of the duke of Norfolk was ſtill, if poſſible, more apparent than that of his ſon; and his ſervices to the crown had been greater. His dutcheſs, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been ſo baſe as to carry intelligence to his enemies of all ſhe knew againſt him: Elizabeth Holland, a miſtreſs of his, had been equally ſubſervient to the deſigns of the court: Yet with all theſe advantages his accuſers diſcovered no greater crime than his once ſaying that the king was ſickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to fall into diſorders, through the diverſity of religious opinions. He wrote a pathetic letter to the king, pleading his paſt ſervices, and proteſting his innocence: Soon after, he embraced a more proper expedient for appeaſing Henry, by making a ſubmiſſion and confeſſion, ſuch as his enemies required: But nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the king. He aſſembled a parliament, as the ſureſt and moſt expeditious inſtrument of his tyranny; and the houſe of peers, without examining the priſoner, without trial or evidence, paſſed a bill of attainder againſt him, and ſent it down to the commons. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an oppoſite party to Norfolk, and

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though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; and he retired to his seat at Croydon[y]. The king was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marshal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the ensuing ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. The obsequious commons obeyed his directions, though founded on so frivolous a pretence; and the king, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought advisable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

The king's health had long been in a declining state; but for several days all those near him plainly saw his end approaching. He was become so froward, that no one durst inform him of his condition; and as some persons during this reign had suffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death[z], every one was afraid lest in the transports of his fury he might on this pretence punish capitally the author of such friendly intelligence. At last sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his resignation; and desired that Cranmer might be

[y] Burnet, vol. i. p. 348. Fox.
[z] Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles in the year 1541.

sent

sent for: But before the prelate arrived he was speechless; though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ: He squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months; and in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1547. Death of the king.

The king had made his will near a month before his demise; in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth. The two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son. After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of his sister the French queen; then on Eleanor countess of Cumberland, the secoud daugher. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder sister, he made use of the power obtained from parliament; but as he subjoined, that after the failure of the French queen's posterity the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question, whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line. It was thought that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries which he had received from the Scots, had irritated him extremely against that nation; and he maintained to the last that character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been so much distinguished. Another circumstance of his will may suggest the same reflection with regard to the strange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: He left money for masses to be said for delivering

his

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his soul from purgatory; and though he destroyed all those institutions established by his ancestors and others for the benefit of *their* souls; and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith which he promulgated during his later years; he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care at least of his own future repose, and to adhere to the safer side of the question [a].

His character.

It is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities: He was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his history is his best character and description. The absolute uncontrolled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him in some degree to the appellation of a *great* prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a *good* one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men, courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: And though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts and an extensive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who in every controversy was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: Violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice: But neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at

[a] See his will in Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer, p. 110. There is no reasonable ground to suspect its authenticity.

intervals

intervals altogether deftitute of virtues; He was fincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at leaft of a temporary friendfhip and attachment. In this refpect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign ferved to difplay his faults in their full light: The treatment which he met with from the court of Rome provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his fuperftitious fubjects, feemed to require the moft extreme feverity. But it muft at the fame time be acknowledged, that his fituation tended to throw an additional luftre on what was great and magnanimous in his character: The emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithftanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe: The extenfive powers of his prerogative, and the fubmiffive, not to fay flavifh difpofition of his parliaments, made it the more eafy for him to affume and maintain that entire dominion, by which his reign is fo much diftinguifhed in the Englifh hiftory.

It may feem a little extraordinary, that notwithftanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary adminiftration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his fubjects, but never was the object of their hatred: He feems even in fome degree to have poffeffed to the laft their love and affection [b]. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: His magnificence and perfonal bravery rendered him illuftrious in vulgar eyes: And it may be faid with truth, that the Englifh in that age were fo thoroughly fubdued, that like eaftern flaves they were inclined to admire thofe acts of violence and tyranny which were exercifed over themfelves, and at their own expence.

With regard to foreign ftates, Henry appears long to have fupported an intercourfe of friendfhip with

[b] Strype, vol. i. p. 389.

Francis,

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Francis, more sincere and disinterested than usually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealousy of the emperor Charles, and some resemblance in their characters (though the comparison sets the French monarch in a very superior and advantageous light), served as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is said to have been affected with the king's death, and to have expressed much regret for the loss. His own health began to decline: He foretold that he should not long survive his friend [c]: And he died in about two months after him.

Miscellaneous transactions.

THERE were ten parliaments summoned by Henry VIII. and twenty-three sessions held. The whole time in which these parliaments sat during this long reign exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a twelvemonth during the first twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged the king afterwards to call these assemblies more frequently: But though these were the most important transactions that ever fell under the cognizance of parliament, their devoted submission to Henry's will, added to their earnest desire of soon returning to their country-seats, produced a quick dispatch of the bills, and made the sessions of short duration. All the king's caprices were indeed blindly complied with, and no regard was paid to the safety or liberty of the subject. Besides the violent prosecution of whatever he was pleased to term heresy, the laws of treason were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the disparagement of the king, queen, or royal issue, were subjected to that penalty; and so little care was taken in framing these rigorous statutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; insomuch that had they been strictly executed, every man without exception must have fallen under the penalty of

c Le Thou.

treason.

treason. By one statute[d], for instance, it was declared treason to assert the validity of the king's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn: By another[e] it was treason to say any thing to the disparagement or slander of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them spurious, would no doubt have been construed to their slander. Nor would even a profound silence, with regard to these delicate points, be able to save a person from such penalties. For by the former statute, whoever refused to answer upon oath to any point contained in that act, was subjected to the pains of treason. The king, therefore, needed only propose to any one a question with regard to the legality of either of his first marriages: If the person were silent, he was a traitor by law: If he answered either in the negative or in the affirmative, he was no less a traitor. So monstrous were the inconsistencies which arose from the furious passions of the king, and the slavish submission of his parliaments. It is hard to say whether these contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed design of tyranny.

It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with regard to government or commerce: Nothing can better show the genius of the age than such a review of the laws.

The abolition of the ancient religion much contributed to the regular execution of justice. While the catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy: The church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities: The

d 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7.

e 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

privilege

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privilege of clergy was aboliſhed for the crimes of petty treaſon, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a ſubdeacon[f]. But the former ſuperſtition not only protected crimes in the clergy; it exempted alſo the laity from puniſhment, by affording them ſhelter in the churches and ſanctuaries. The parliament abridged theſe privileges. It was firſt declared, that no ſanctuaries were allowed in caſes of high treaſon[g]; next, in thoſe of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treaſon[h]: And it limited them in other particulars[i]. The farther progreſs of the reformation removed all diſtinction between the clergy and other ſubjects; and alſo aboliſhed entirely the privileges of ſanctuaries. Theſe conſequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

The only expedient employed to ſupport the military ſpirit during this age was, the reviving and extending of ſome old laws enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was ſuppoſed much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow[k]: Butts were ordered to be erected in every pariſh[l]: And every bowyer was ordered, for each bow of yew which he made, to make two of elm or wich for the ſervice of the common people[m]. The uſe of croſs-bows and hand-guns was alſo prohibited[n]. What rendered the Engliſh bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberts with them, by which they were enabled upon occaſion to engage in cloſe fight with the enemy[o]. Frequent muſters or arrays were alſo made of the people, even during time of peace; and all men of ſubſtance were obliged to have a complete ſuit of armour or harneſs, as it was called[p].

[f] 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
[g] 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
[h] 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
[i] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 14.
[k] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
[l] Ibid.
[m] Ibid.
[n] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
[o] Herbert.
[p] Hall, fol. 234. Stowe, p. 515. Hollingſhed, p. 947.

The

The martial ſpirit of the Engliſh, during that age, rendered this precaution, it was thought, ſufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the king had then an abſolute power of commanding the ſervice of all his ſubjects, he could inſtantly, in caſe of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleaſed. When no faction or diviſion prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever thought of invading England. The city of London alone could muſter fifteen thouſand men[q]. Diſcipline, however, was an advantage wanting to thoſe troops; though the garriſon of Calais was a nurſery of officers; and Tournay firſt[r], Boulogne afterwards, ſerved to increaſe the number. Every one who ſerved abroad was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees[s]. A general permiſſion was granted to diſpoſe of land by will[t]. The parliament was ſo little jealous of its privileges (which indeed were at that time ſcarcely worth preſerving), that there is an inſtance of one Strode, who, becauſe he had introduced into the lower houſe ſome bill regarding tin, was ſeverely treated by the Stannery courts in Cornwall: Heavy fines were impoſed on him; and upon his refuſal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and uſed in ſuch a manner as brought his life in danger: Yet all the notice which the parliament took of this enormity, even in ſuch a paultry court, was to enact, That no man could afterwards be queſtioned for his conduct in parliament[u]. This prohibition, however, muſt be ſuppoſed to extend only to the inferior courts: For as to the king, and privy-council, and ſtar-chamber, they were ſcarcely bound by any law.

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q Hall, fol. 235. Hollingſhed, p. 547. Stowe, p. 577.
r Hall, fol. 68.
s 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 15.
t 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5.
u 4 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

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THERE is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which ſhews what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the ſovereign[w]. This duty had been voted to every king ſince Henry IV. during the term of his own life only: Yet Henry VIII. had been allowed to levy it ſix years without any law; and though there had been four parliaments aſſembled during that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or reſtrain him from levying it. At laſt the parliament reſolved to give him that ſupply; but even in this conceſſion they plainly ſhow themſelves at a loſs to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himſelf to levy it. They ſay that the impoſition was made to endure during the natural life of the late king and no longer: They yet blame the merchants who had not paid it to the preſent king: They obſerve that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired; yet make no ſcruple to call that impoſition the king's due: They affirm, that he had ſuſtained great and manifold loſſes by thoſe who had defrauded him of it; and to provide a remedy, they vote him that ſupply during his life-time, and no longer. It is remarkable that, notwithſtanding this laſt clauſe, all his ſucceſſors for more than a century perſevered in the like irregular practice: If a practice may deſerve that epithet in which the whole nation acquieſced, and which gave no offence. But when Charles I. attempted to continue in the ſame courſe which had now received the ſanction of many generations, ſo much were the opinions of men altered, that a furious tempeſt was excited by it; and hiſtorians, partial or ignorant, ſtill repreſent this meaſure as a moſt violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince.

[w] 6 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

The king was allowed to make laws for Wales without consent of parliament [x]. It was forgotten, that with regard both to Wales and England, the limitation was abolished by the statute which gave to the royal proclamations the force of laws.

The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe. Hence the mutual dependance of those countries on each other; and the great loss sustained by both in case of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the sovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this extremity; and though the king usually bore a greater friendship to Francis, the nation always leaned towards the emperor.

In 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; and the inconvenience was soon felt on both sides. While the Flemings were not allowed to purchase cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it from the clothiers, and the clothiers were obliged to dismiss their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appease them, sent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as usual: They told him, that they could not dispose of it as usual; and, notwithstanding his menaces, he could get no other answer from them [y]. An agreement was at last made to continue the commerce between the states, even during war.

It was not till the end of this reign that any sallads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots, were produced in England. The little of these vegetables that was used, was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders [z]. Queen Catherine, when she wanted a sallad, was obliged to dispatch a messen-

[x] 34 Hen. VIII. [y] Hall, folio 174. [z] Anderson, vol. i. p. 338.

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ger thither on purpose. The use of hops, and the planting of them, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or end of the preceding.

FOREIGN artificers, in general, much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality: Hence the violent animosity which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former who were settled in England. They had the assurance to complain, that all their customers went to foreign tradesmen; and, in the year 1517, being moved by the seditious sermons of one Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer sort, in London, began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great disorders; killed some of his servants; and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appease them; nor sir Thomas More, late under-sheriff, though much respected in the city. They also threatened cardinal Wolsey with some insult; and he thought it necessary to fortify his house, and put himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day the duke of Norfolk came into the city at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made inquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their

knees,

knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time how to pardon; he dismissed them without farther punishment[a].

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So great was the number of foreign artisans in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order of council, when Henry became jealous of their favour for queen Catherine[b]. Henry himself confesses, in an edict of the star-chamber, printed among the statutes, that the foreigners starved the natives; and obliged them, from idleness, to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities[c]. He also asserts that the vast multitude of foreigners raised the price of grain and bread[d]. And to prevent an increase of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibibited from having above two foreigners in their house, either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealousy arose against the foreign merchants; and to appease it, a law was enacted, obliging all denizens to pay the duties imposed upon aliens[e]. The parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign merchants and artisans to come over in greater numbers to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and have improved their skill. The prisoners in the kingdom for debts and crimes are asserted, in an act of parliament, to be sixty thousand persons and above[f]; which is scarcely credible. Harrison asserts that 72,000 criminals were executed during this reign for theft and robbery, which would amount nearly to 2000 a-year He adds, that in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were not punished capitally 400 in a year: It appears that, in all England, there are not at present fifty executed for those crimes. If these facts be just, there has been a great im-

[a] Stowe, 505 Hollingshed. 840. [b] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 232. [c] 21 Hen. VIII. [d] Ibid. [e] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8. [f] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

 prove-

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provement in morals ſince the reign of Henry VIII. And this improvement has been chiefly owing to the increaſe of induſtry and of the arts, which have given maintenance, and, what is almoſt of equal importance, occupation, to the lower claſſes.

There is a remarkable clauſe in a ſtatute paſſed near the beginning of this reign[g], by which we might be induced to believe that England was extremely decayed from the flouriſhing condition which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward II. that no magiſtrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep aſſize, ſhould during the continuance of his magiſtracy, ſell, either in wholeſale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law ſeemed equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the aſſize: Yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reaſon aſſigned is, that "ſince the making of "that ſtatute and ordinance, many and the moſt "part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns cor-"porate, within the realm of England, are fallen "in ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by mer-"chants, and men of ſuch ſubſtance as at the time "of making that ſtatute: For at this day, the dwell-"ers and inhabitants of the ſame cities and boroughs "are commonly bakers, vintners, fiſhmongers, "and other victuallers, and there remain few others "to bear the offices." Men have ſuch a propenſity to exalt paſt times above the preſent, that it ſeems dangerous to credit this reaſoning of the parliament, without farther evidence to ſupport it. So different are the views in which the ſame object appears, that ſome may be inclined to draw an oppoſite inference from this fact. A more regular police was eſtabliſhed in the reign of Henry VIII. than in any former period, and a ſtricter adminiſtration of juſtice; an advantage which induced the men of

g 3 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

landed property to leave the provincial towns, and to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolsey, in a speech to parliament, represented it as a proof of the increase of riches, that the customs had increased beyond what they were formerly [h].

But if there were really a decay of commerce, and industry, and populousness in England, the statutes of this reign, except by abolishing monasteries, and retrenching holidays, circumstances of considerable moment, were not in other respects well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted [i]: Luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated statutes [k]; and probably without effect. The chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter [l]. A statute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal [m]. Beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound: Mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble of the statute says, that these four species of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer sort. This act was afterwards repealed [n].

The practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into pasturage, still continued [o]; as appears by the new laws which were, from time to time, enacted against that practice. The king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farm-houses were allowed to fall to decay [p]. The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock was restrained to two thousand [q]. Sometimes, says the statute, one proprietor, or far-

[h] Hall, folio 110. [i] 6 Hen. VIII. c. 3. [k] 1 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 1. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 7. [l] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2. [m] 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3. [n] 33 Hen. VIII. c. 11. [o] Strype, vol. i. p. 392. [p] 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1. [q] 25 Hen VIII. c. 13.

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mer, would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribes the increasing price of mutton to this increase of sheep: Because, say they, the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure [q]. It is more probable that the effect proceeded from the daily increase of money: For it seems almost impossible that such a commodity could be engrossed.

In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteen-pence of our present money [r]. This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above four times cheaper: A presumption of the bad husbandry in that age.

Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants [s]; one of the circumstances in government which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at 10 per cent.; the first legal interest known in England. Formerly all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal: And the prejudices still remained so strong, that the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign.

This reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even subsequent reigns, abounds with monopolizing laws, confining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in gene-

[q] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13. [r] Anderson, vol. i. p. 374. [s] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

ral.

ral [t]. There remain ſtill too many traces of ſimilar abſurdities. In the ſubſequent reign, the corporations which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradeſmen of different kinds, were again ſhut up by act of parliament; and every one was prohibited from exerciſing any trade who was not of the corporation [u]. CHAP. XXXIII. 1547.

Henry, as he poſſeſſed himſelf ſome talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolſey founded Chriſt Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College: But upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finiſhed his ſcheme, the king ſeized all the revenues; and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that miniſter, is ſaid to have given him the greateſt concern [w]. But Henry afterwards reſtored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the firſt chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that univerſity into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The ſtudents divided themſelves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and ſometimes fought with as great animoſity as was formerly exerciſed by thoſe hoſtile nations. A new and more correct method of pronouncing Greek being introduced, it alſo divided the Grecians themſelves into parties; and it was remarked that the catholics favoured the former pronunciation, the proteſtants gave countenance to the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the king and council to ſuppreſs innovations in this particular, and to preſerve the corrupt ſound of the Greek alphabet. So little liberty was then allowed of any kind! The penalties inflicted upon the new pro-

[t] 21 Hen. VIII, c. 12. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 24. [u] 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20.
[w] Strype, vol. i. p. 117.

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nunciation were no lefs than whipping, degradation, and expulfion; and the bifhop declared, that, rather than permit the liberty of innovating in the pronunciation of the Greek alphabet, it were better that the language itfelf were totally banifhed the univerfities. The introduction of the Greek language into Oxford excited the emulation of Cambridge [x]. Wolfey intended to have enriched the library of his college at Oxford with copies of all the manufcripts that were in the Vatican [y]. The countenance given to letters by this king and his minifters contributed to render learning fafhionable in England: Erafmus fpeaks with great fatisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge [z]. It is needlefs to be particular in mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding. There is no man of that age who has the leaft pretenfion to be ranked among our claffics. Sir Thomas More, though he wrote in Latin, feems to come the neareft to the character of a claffical author.

[x] Wood's Hift. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 245. [y] Ibid. 249.
[z] Epift. ad Banifium. Alfo Epift. p. 368.

CHAP. XXXIV.

EDWARD VI.

State of the regency——Innovations in the regency ——Hertford protector——Reformation completed ——Gardiner's opposition——Foreign affairs—— Progress of the reformation in Scotland——Assassination of cardinal Beaton——Conduct of the war with Scotland——Battle of Pinkey——A parliament——Farther progress of the reformation—— Affairs of Scotland——Young queen of Scots sent into France——Cabals of lord Seymour——Dudley earl of Warwick——A parliament——Attainder of lord Seymour——His execution——Ecclesiastical affairs.

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1547. State of the regency,

THE late king, by the regulations which he imposed on the government of his infant son, as well as by the limitations of the succession, had projected to reign even after his decease; and he imagined that his ministers, who had always been so obsequious to him during his lifetime, would never afterwards depart from the plan which he had traced out to them. He fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and as Edward was then only a few month's past nine, he appointed sixteen executors; to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the kingdom. Their names were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesely, chancellor;

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lor; lord St. John, great master; lord Russel, privy seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; sir Anthony Brown, master of horse; sir William Paget, secretary of state; sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; judge Bromley; sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To these executors, with whom was entrusted the whole regal authority, were appointed twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice when any affair was laid before them. The council was composed of the earls of Arundel and Essex; sir Thomas Cheney, treasurer of the household; sir John Gage, comptroller; sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; sir William Petre, secretary of state; sir Richard Rich, sir John Baker, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Thomas Seymour, sir Richard Southwel, and sir Edmund Peckham [a]. The usual caprice of Henry appears somewhat in this nomination; while he appointed several persons of inferior station among his executors, and gave only the place of counsellor to a person of such high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.

Innovations in the regency.

BUT the first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the destination of the late king in a material article. No sooner were they met than it was suggested, that the government would lose its dignity, for want of some head who might represent the royal majesty, who might receive addresses from foreign ambassadors, to whom dispatches from English ministers abroad might be carried, and whose name might be employed in all orders

[a] Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 457.

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and proclamations: And as the king's will ſeemed to labour under a defect in this particular, it was deemed neceſſary to ſupply it, by chuſing a protector, who, though he ſhould poſſeſs all the exterior ſymbols of royal dignity, ſhould yet be bound in every act of power, to follow the opinion of the executors [b]. This propoſal was very diſagreeable to chancellor Wriotheſely. That magiſtrate, a man of an active ſpirit and high ambition, found himſelf, by his office, entitled to the firſt rank in the regency after the primate; and as he knew that this prelate had no talent or inclination for ſtate affairs, he hoped that the direction of public buſineſs would of courſe devolve in a great meaſure upon himſelf. He oppoſed therefore the propoſal of chuſing a protector; and repreſented that innovation as an infringement of the late king's will, which, being corroborated by act of parliament, ought in every thing to be a law to them, and could not be altered but by the ſame authority which had eſtabliſhed it. But he ſeems to have ſtood alone in the oppoſition. The executors and counſellors were moſtly courtiers who had been raiſed by Henry's favour, not men of high birth or great hereditary influence; and as they had been ſufficiently accuſtomed to ſubmiſſion during the reign of the late monarch, and had no pretenſions to govern the nation by their own authority, they acquieſced the more willingly in a propoſal which ſeemed calculated for preſerving public peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to name a protector, the choice fell of courſe on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was ſtrongly intereſted in his ſafety; and, poſſeſſing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any ſeparate intereſt, which might lead him to endanger Edward's perſon or his authority [c]. The public was informed by proclamation of this

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Hertford protector.

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 5. [c] Heylin, Hiſt. Ref. Edw. VI.

change

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change in the administration; and dispatches were sent to all foreigh courts to give them intimation of it. All those who were possessed of any office resigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions, that they held their offices during pleasure[d]: And it is there expressly affirmed, that all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the crown[e].

The executors in their next measure showed a more submissive deference to Henry's will; because many of them found their account in it. The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those peerages which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue; and that he might enable the new peers to support their dignity, he had resolved, either to bestow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone so far as to inform them of this resolution; and in his will he charged his executors to make good all his promises[f]. That they might ascertain his intentions in the most authentic manner, sir William Paget, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always conversed in a familiar manner, were called before the board of regency; and having given evidence of what they knew concerning the king's promises, their testimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling of these engagements. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, mareschal and lord trea-
17th Feb. surer; Wriothesely, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle,

d Collier, vol. ii. p. 218. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 6. Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141. e Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141.
f Fuller, Heylin. and Rymer.

earl

earl of Warwic; sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; sir Richard Rich, sir William Willoughby, sir Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of baron[g]. Several to whom the same dignity was offered, refused it; because the other part of the king's promises, the bestowing of estates on these new noblemen, was deferred till a more convenient opportunity. Some of them, however, as also Somerset the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with spiritual preferments, deaneries and prebends. For, among many other invasions of ecclesiastical privileges and property, this irregular practice of bestowing spiritual benefices on laymen began now to prevail.

The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it was not likely that factions, which had secretly prevailed even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration that usually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leisure for attending to public business, had, of himself and from his own authority, put the great seal in commission, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellasis, to execute in his absence the office of chancellor. This measure seemed very exceptionable; and the more so, as two of the commissioners being canonists, the lawyers suspected that by this nomination the chancellor had intended to discredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depress Southampton. They consulted the judges with regard to so unusual a case, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great seal, and was even liable to punishment.

g Stowe's Annals, p. 594.

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The council fummoned him to appear before them. He maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not lofe it without a trial in parliament; that if the commiffion which he had granted were found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill confequences of it be eafily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorifed. But the council, notwithftanding thefe topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great feal; that a fine fhould be impofed upon him; and that he fhould be confined to his own houfe during pleafure [h].

THE removal of Southampton increafed the protector's authority, as well as tended to fupprefs faction in the regency; yet was not Somerfet contented with this advantage: His ambition carried him to feek ftill farther acquifitions. On pretence that the vote of the executors, choofing him protector, was not a fufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by

12 March. which he entirely overturned the will of Harry VIII. produced a total revolution in the government, and may feem even to have fubverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himfelf protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, confifting of all the former counfellors, and all the executors, except Southampton: He referved a power of naming any other counfellors at pleafure: And he was bound to confult with fuch only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewife empowered to act at difcretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public fervice, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, ftatute, proclamation, or ordinance whatfoever [i]. Even had this patent been more moderate in its

h Hollingfhed, p. 979. i Burnet, vol. ii. Records, N° 6.

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concessions, and had it been drawn by directions from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality might justly be questioned; since it seems essential to a trust of this nature to be exercised by the persons entrusted, and not to admit of a delegation to others: But as the patent, by its very tenor, where the executors are not so much as mentioned, appears to have been surreptitiously obtained from a minor king, the protectorship of Somerset was a plain usurpation, which it is impossible by any arguments to justify. The connivance, however, of the executors, and their present acquiescence in the new establishment, made it be universally submitted to; and as the young king discovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was also in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his power and title. All men of sense likewise, who saw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the opposite sects, deemed it the more necessary to entrust the government to one person, who might check the exorbitancies of faction, and ensure the public tranquillity. And though some clauses of the patent seemed to imply a formal subversion of all limited government, so little jealousy was then usually entertained on that head, that no exception was ever taken at bare claims or pretensions of this nature, advanced by any person possessed of sovereign power. The actual exercise alone of arbitrary administration, and that in many, and great, and flagrant, and unpopular instances, was able sometimes to give some umbrage to the nation.

Reformation completed.

THE extensive authority and imperious character of Henry had retained the partisans of both religions in subjection; but, upon his demise, the hopes of the protestants, and the fears of the catholics, began to revive, and the zeal of these parties produced every where disputes and animosities, the usual preludes to more fatal divisions. The protector had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the reformers;

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formers; and being now freed from reſtraint, he ſcrupled not to diſcover his intention of correcting all abuſes in the ancient religion, and of adopting ſtill more of the proteſtant innovations. He took care that all perſons entruſted with the king's education ſhould be attached to the ſame principles; and as the young prince diſcovered a zeal for every kind of literature, eſpecially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foreſaw, in the courſe of his reign, the total abolition of the catholic faith in England; and they early began to declare themſelves in favour of thoſe tenets which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council ſeemed to retain any attachment to the Romiſh communion; and moſt of the counſellors appeared even ſanguine in forwarding the progreſs of the reformation. The riches which moſt of them had acquired from the ſpoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by eſtabliſhing a contrariety of ſpeculative tenets, as well as of diſcipline and worſhip, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable[k]. Their rapacity alſo, the chief ſource of their reforming ſpirit, was excited by the proſpect of pillaging the ſecular, as they had already done the regular clergy; and they knew that while any ſhare of the old principles remained, or any regard to the eccleſiaſtics, they could never hope to ſucceed in that enterpriſe.

THE numerous and burthenſome ſuperſtitions with which the Romiſh church was loaded, had thrown many of the reformers, by the ſpirit of oppoſition, into an enthuſiaſtic ſtrain of devotion; and all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior obſervances were zealouſly proſcribed by them as hindrances to their ſpiritual contemplations, and

[k] Goodwin's Annals. Heylin.

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obſtructions to their immediate converſe with heaven. Many circumſtances concurred to inflame this daring ſpirit; the novelty itſelf of their doctrines, the triumph of making proſelytes, the furious perſecutions to which they were expoſed, their animoſity againſt the ancient tenets and practices, and the neceſſity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depreſſing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the eccleſiaſtics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the oppoſition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and was attended with conſequences, which, though leſs durable, were, for ſome time, not leſs dangerous than thoſe which were connected with the ancient ſuperſtition. But as the magiſtrate took the lead in England, the tranſition was more gradual; much of the ancient religion was ſtill preſerved; and a reaſonable degree of ſubordination was retained in diſcipline, as well as ſome pomp, order, and ceremony in public worſhip.

The protector in his ſchemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourſe to the counſels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averſe to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by inſenſible innovations, to that ſyſtem of doctrine and diſcipline which he deemed the moſt pure and perfect. He probably alſo foreſaw that a ſyſtem, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be moſt laſting; and that a devotion merely ſpiritual was fitted only for the firſt fervours of a new ſect, and upon the relaxation of theſe naturally gave place to the inroads of ſuperſtition. He ſeems, therefore, to have intended the eſtabliſhment of a hierarchy, which, being ſuited to a great and ſettled government, might ſtand as a perpetual barrier againſt Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people even after their enthuſiaſtic zeal was diminiſhed, or entirely evaporated.

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The person who opposed, with greatest authority, any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late disgusts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. This prelate still continued to magnify the great wisdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally and sincerely revered by the nation; and he insisted on the prudence of persevering, at least till the young king's majority, in the ecclesiastical model established by that great monarch. He defended the use of images, which were now openly attacked by the protestants; and he represented them as serviceable in maintaining a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude [l]. He even deigned to write an apology for *holy water*, which bishop Ridley had decried in a sermon; and he maintained that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of Christ's garment, or the spittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind [m]. Above all, he insisted that the laws ought to be observed, that the constitution ought to be preserved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the sovereign, in opposition to an act of parliament [n].

Gardiner's opposition.

But though there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a constitution, sufficient at least to furnish a topic of argument to such as were discontented with an immediate exercise of authority, this plea could scarcely in the present case be maintained with any plausibility by Gardiner. An act of parliament had invested the crown with a legislative power; and royal proclamations, even

l Fox, vol. ii. p. 712. m Ibid. p. 724.
n Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. Fox, vol. ii.

during

during a minority, were armed with the force of laws. The protector, finding himſelf ſupported by this ſtatute, was determined to employ his authority in favour of the reformers; and having ſuſpended, during the interval, the juriſdiction of the biſhops, he appointed a general viſitation to be made in all the dioceſes of England [o]. The viſitors conſiſted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had ſix circuits aſſigned them. The chief purport of their inſtructions was, beſides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtitions, and to bring the diſcipline and worſhip ſomewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerſet and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The viſitors were enjoined to retain for the preſent, all images which had not been abuſed to idolatry; and to inſtruct the people not to deſpiſe ſuch ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of ſome particular ſuperſtitions, ſuch as the ſprinkling of their beds with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or uſing of conſecrated candles, in order to drive away the devil [p].

But nothing required more the correcting hand of authority than the abuſe of preaching, which was now generally employed, throughout England, in defending the ancient practices and ſuperſtitions. The court of augmentation, in order to eaſe the exchequer of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and theſe men were led by intereſt, as well as by inclination, to ſupport thoſe principles which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to reſtrain the topics of their ſermons: Twelve homilies were publiſhed, which they were enjoined to read to the people: And all of them were prohibited, without expreſs permiſſion, from

[o] Mem. Cranm. p. 146, 147, &c. [p] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 28.

 preach-

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preaching any where but in their parish churches. The purpose of this injunction was to throw a restraint on the catholic divines; while the protestant, by the grant of particular licences, should be allowed unbounded liberty.

BONNER made some opposition to these measures; but soon after retracted and acquiesced. Gardiner was more high-spirited and more steady. He represented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. "'Tis a "dangerous thing," said he, "to use too much "freedom in researches of this kind. If you cut "the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than "you have a mind to. If you indulge the humour "of novelty, you cannot put a stop to people's de-"mands, nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure. "For my part," said he, on another occasion, "my sole concern is, to manage the third and last "act of my life with decency, and to make a "handsome exit off the stage. Provided this point "is secured, I am not solicitous about the rest. I "am already by nature condemned to death: No "man can give me a pardon from this sentence; "nor so much as procure me a reprieve. To speak "my mind, and to act as my conscience directs, are "two branches of liberty which I can never part "with. Sincerity in speech, and integrity in action, "are entertaining qualities: They will stick by a "man when every thing else takes its leave; and I "must not resign them upon any consideration. "The best on it is, if I do not throw them away "myself, no man can force them from me: But if "I give them up, then I am ruined by myself, and "deserve to lose all my preferments [q]." This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was sent to the Fleet, where he was used with some severity.

[q] Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. Bibliotheca Britannica, Article GARDINER.

ONE

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One of the chief objections, urged by Gardiner against the new homilies, was, that they defined, with the most metaphysical precision, the doctrines of grace, and of justification by faith; points, he thought, which it was superfluous for any man to know exactly, and which certainly much exceeded the comprehension of the vulgar. A famous martyrologist calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, "An insensible ass, and one that had no feeling of "God's spirit in the matter of justification[r]." The meanest protestant imagined, at that time, that he had a full comprehension of all those mysterious doctrines; and he heartily despised the most learned and knowing person of the ancient religion, who acknowledged his ignorance with regard to them. It is indeed certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of justification, and might venture to foretel its success, in opposition to all the ceremonies, shows, and superstitions of popery. By exalting Christ and his sufferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourselves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with those principles of panegyric and of self-abasement which generally have place in religion.

Tonstal bishop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made some opposition to the new regulations, was dismissed the council; but no farther severity was, for the present, exercised against him. He was a man of great moderation, and of the most unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

Foreign affairs.

The same religious zeal which engaged Somerset to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the interests of the protestants were now exposed to the most imminent danger. The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance, and after long delays, had at last summoned a general council, which was assembled

[r] Fox, vol. ii.

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at Trent, and was employed, both in correcting the abuses of the church, and in ascertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who desired to repress the power of the court of Rome, as well as gain over the protestants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who found his own greatness so deeply interested, desired rather to employ them in the latter. He gave instructions to his legates, who presided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the theologians in argument, and altercation, and dispute concerning the nice points of faith canvassed before them: A policy so easy to be executed, that the legates soon found it rather necessary to interpose, in order to appease the animosity of the divines, and bring them at last to some decision[s]. The more difficult task for the legates was, to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to repress the ambition of the prelates, who desired to exalt the episcopal authority on the ruins of the sovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become prevalent, the legates, on pretence that the plague had broke out at Trent, transferred of a sudden the council to Bologna, where they hoped it would be more under the direction of his holiness.

The emperor, no less than the pope, had learned to make religion subservient to his ambition and policy. He was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy as a pretence for subduing the protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the palatine and the elector of Brandenburgh from the protestant confederacy: He took arms against the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse: By the fortune of war, he made the former prisoner: He employed treachery and prevarication against the

[s] Father Paul, lib. 2.

latter,

latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a ſafe-conduct which he had granted him. He ſeemed to have reached the ſummit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were aſtoniſhed with his ſucceſs, were farther diſcouraged by the intelligence which they had received of the death, firſt of Henry VIII. then of Francis I. their uſual reſources in every calamity[t].

Henry II. who ſucceeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and abilities; but leſs haſty in his reſolution than Francis, and leſs enflamed with rivalſhip and animoſity againſt the emperor Charles. Though he ſent ambaſſadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic League, and promiſed them protection, he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry into a war with ſo great a power as that of the emperor; and he thought that the alliance of thoſe princes was a ſure reſource, which he could at any time lay hold of[u]. He was much governed by the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine; and he hearkened to their counſel, in chuſing rather to give immediate aſſiſtance to Scotland, his ancient ally, which, even before the death of Henry VIII. had loudly claimed the protectton of the French monarchy.

Progreſs of the reformation in Scotland.

The hatred between the two factions, the partiſans of the ancient and thoſe of the new religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the reſolution which the cardinal primate had taken to employ the moſt rigorous puniſhments againſt the reformers, brought matters to a quick deciſion. There was one Wiſhart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himſelf with great zeal in preaching againſt the ancient ſuperſtitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were juſtly terrified with the danger of ſome fatal revolution in religion. This man was celebrated for the purity of his morals, and

[t] Sleidan. [u] Pere Daniel.

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for his extensive learning: But these praises cannot be much depended on; because we know that, among the reformers, severity of manners supplied the place of many virtues; and the age was in general so ignorant, that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther's, and asserted that the Old alone was the word of God[w]. But however the case may have stood with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the desire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for seizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with dismissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation that they had dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with some imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his proselytes. Meanwhile a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven by banishing the pious preacher, and that the pestilence would never cease, till they had made him atonement for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: But lest he should spread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate: The infected stood within; the others without. And the preacher failed not, in such a situation, to take

[w] See note [P] at the end of the volume.

advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical miſſion[x].

THE aſſiduity and ſucceſs of Wiſhart became an object of attention to cardinal Beaton; and he reſolved, by the puniſhment of ſo celebrated a preacher, to ſtrike a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwel to arreſt him, and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promiſe given by Bothwel to that unhappy man: And being poſſeſſed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrews, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for hereſy. Arran, the governor, was irreſolute in his temper; and the cardinal, though he had gained him over to his party, found that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wiſhart. He determined, therefore, without the aſſiſtance of the ſecular arm, to bring that heretic to puniſhment; and he himſelf beheld from his window the diſmal ſpectacle. Wiſhart ſuffered with the uſual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his inſulting enemy. He foretold, that, in a few days, he ſhould in the very ſame place lie as low as now he was exalted aloft in oppoſition to true piety and religion[y].

Aſſaſſination of cardinal Beaton.

THIS prophecy was probably the immediate cauſe of the event which it foretold. The diſciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conſpiracy againſt the cardinal; and having aſſociated to them Norman Leſly, who was diſguſted on account of ſome private quarrel, they conducted their enterpriſe with great ſecrecy and ſucceſs. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had ſtrongly fortified; and though they were not above ſixteen perſons, they thruſt out a hundred tradeſmen and fifty ſervants, whom

x Knox's Hiſt. of Ref. p. 44. Spotſwood.
y Spotſwood, Buchanan.

they

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they ſeized ſeparately, before any ſuſpicion aroſe of their intentions; and having ſhut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpoſe on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noiſe which he heard in the caſtle; and had barricadoed the door of his chamber: But finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promiſe of life, he opened the door; and reminding them that he was a prieſt, he conjured them to ſpare him. Two of the aſſaſſins ruſhed upon him with drawn ſwords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more conſiderate in villany, ſtopped their career, and bade them reflect that this work was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his ſword towards Beaton, he called to him, "Repent "thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy ſins and "iniquities, eſpecially of the murder of Wiſhart, "that inſtrument of God for the converſion of "theſe lands: It is his death which now cries "vengeance upon thee: We are ſent by God to "inflict the deſerved puniſhment. For here, be-"fore the Almighty, I proteſt, that it is neither "hatred of thy perſon, nor love of thy riches, nor "fear of thy power, which moves me to ſeek thy "death: But only becauſe thou haſt been, and "ſtill remaineſt, an obſtinate enemy to Chriſt "Jeſus, and his holy goſpel." Having ſpoken theſe words, without giving Beaton time to finiſh that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thruſt him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet[z]. This murder was executed on the

[z] The famous Scotch reformer, John Knox, calls James Melvil, p. 65. a man moſt gentle and moſt modeſt. It is very horrid, but at the ſame time ſomewhat amuſing, to conſider the joy and alacrity and pleaſure, which that hiſtorian diſcovers in his narrative of this aſſaſſination: And it is remarkable, that in the firſt edition of his work, theſe words were printed on the margin of the page, *The godly Fact*

the 28th of May 1546. The aſſaſſins, being reinforced by their friends, to the number of a hundred and forty perſons, prepared themſelves for the defence of the caſtle, and ſent a meſſenger to London, craving aſſiſtance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of diſturbing the government of a rival kingdom; and he promiſed to take them under his protection.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five ſhort reigns had been ſucceſſively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of juſtice which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions, and animoſities of the great. But beſides theſe inveterate and ancient evils, a new ſource of diſorder had ariſen, the diſputes and contentions of theology, which were ſufficient to diſturb the moſt ſettled government; and the death of the cardinal, who was poſſeſſed of abilities and vigour, ſeemed much to weaken the hands of the adminiſtration. But the queen-dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtue; and ſhe did as much to ſupport the government, and ſupply the weakneſs of Arran the governor, as could be expected in her ſituation.

Conduct of the war with Scotland.

The protector of England, as ſoon as the ſtate was brought to ſome compoſure, made preparations for war with Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if poſſible, that project of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been ſo intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of 18,000 men, and equipped a fleet of

Fact and Words of James Melvil. But the following editors retrenched them. Knox himſelf had no hand in the murder of Beaton; but he afterwards joined the aſſaſſins, and aſſiſted them in holding out the caſtle See Keith's Hiſt. of the Ref. of Scotland, p. 43.

ſixty

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ſixty ſail, one half of which were ſhips of war, the other laden with proviſions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to lord Clinton: He himſelf marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwic. Theſe hoſtile meaſures were covered with a pretence of revenging ſome depredations committed by the borderers; but beſides that Somerſet revived the ancient claim of the ſuperiority of the Engliſh crown over that of Scotland, he refuſed to enter into negotiation on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

The protector, before he opened the campaign, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that meaſure. He ſaid, that nature ſeemed originally to have intended this iſland for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign ſtates, and guarded it by the ocean, ſhe had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happineſs and to ſecurity: That the education and cuſtoms of the people concurred with nature; and by giving them the ſame language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and coalition: That fortune had at laſt removed all obſtacles, and had prepared an expedient by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealouſy, either of honour or of intereſts, to which rival nations are naturally expoſed: That the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female; that of England on a male; and happily the two ſovereigns, as of a rank, were alſo of an age the moſt ſuitable to each other: That the hoſtile diſpoſitions which prevailed between the nations, and which aroſe from paſt injuries, would ſoon be extinguiſhed, after a long and ſecure peace had eſtabliſhed confidence between them: That the memory of former miſeries, which at preſent inflamed their mutual animoſity, would then ſerve only to make them cheriſh, with more paſſion,

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passion, a state of happiness and tranquillity so long unknown to their ancestors: That when hostilities had ceased between the kingdoms, the Scottish nobility, who were at present obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike posture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would soften their minds to a love of domestic order and obedience: That as this situation was desirable to both kingdoms, so particularly to Scotland, which had been exposed to the greatest miseries from intestine and foreign wars, and saw herself every moment in danger of losing her independency, by the efforts of a richer and more powerful people: That though England had claims of superiority, she was willing to resign every pretension for the sake of future peace, and desired an union, which would be the more secure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: And that besides all these motives, positive engagements had been taken for completing this alliance; and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her interest and safety so loudly demanded [a].

SOMERSET soon perceived that these remonstrances would have no influence; and that the queen-dowager's attachment to France and to the catholic religion would render ineffectual all negotiations for the intended marriage. He found himself, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to constrain the Scots by necessity to submit to a measure, for which they seemed to have entertained the most incurable aversion. He passed the borders at Berwic, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any resistance for some days, except from some small castles which he obliged to surrender at discretion. The protector intended to have punished the governor and garrison of one of these castles for their temerity in resisting 2d Sept.

[a] Sir John Haywood in Kennet, p. 279. Heylin, p. 42.

10 such

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ſuch unequal force: But they eluded his anger by aſking only a few hours' reſpite, till they ſhould prepare themſelves for death; after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy [c].

The governor of Scotland had ſummoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the Engliſh, had taken poſt on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eſke, about four miles from Edinburgh. The Engliſh came within ſight of them at Faſide; and after a ſkirmiſh between the horſe, where the Scots were worſted, and lord Hume dangerouſly wounded, Somerſet prepared himſelf for a more deciſive action. But having taken a view of the Scottiſh camp with the earl of Warwic, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of ſucceſs. He wrote, therefore, another letter to Arran; and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages which he had committed, provided the Scots would ſtipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till ſhe reached the age of chuſing a huſband for herſelf. So moderate a demand was rejected by the Scots merely on account of its moderation; and it made them imagine that the protector muſt either be reduced to great diſtreſs, or be influenced by fear, that he was now contented to abate ſo much of his former pretenſions. Inflamed alſo by their prieſts, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed that the Engliſh were deteſtable heretics, abhorred of God, and expoſed to divine vengeance; and that no ſucceſs could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit when they ſaw the protector change his ground, and move towards the ſea; nor did they any longer doubt that he intended

[c] Haywood. Patten.

to embark his army, and make his escape on board the ships, which at that very time moved into the bay opposite to him [d]. Determined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp; and passing the river Eske, advanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies: Angus commanded the vanguard; Arran the main body; Huntley the rear: Their cavalry consisted only of light horse, which were placed on their left flank, strengthened by some Irish archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this service.

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SOMERSET was much pleased when he saw this movement of the Scottish army; and as the English had usually been superior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of success. He ranged his van on the left, farthest from the sea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds on which he placed them, till the enemy should approach: He placed his main battle and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he posted lord Grey at the head of the men at arms, and ordered him to take the Scottish van in flank, but not till they should be engaged in close fight with the van of the English.

The battle of Pinkey.

WHILE the Scots were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the English ships: The eldest son of lord Graham was killed: The Irish archers were thrown into disorder; and even the other troops began to stagger: When lord Grey, perceiving their situation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy-armed horse, made an attack on the Scottish infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honour of the victory. On advancing, he found a slough and ditch in his way; and behind were ranged the enemy armed with spears, and the field on which they stood was fallow ground, broken with ridges which lay cross their front, and disordered the movements of the English cavalry. From all these accidents, the shock of

[d] Hollingshed, p. 985.

this

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this body of horse was feeble and irregular; and as they were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and discomfited. Grey himself was dangerously wounded: Lord Edward Seymour, son of the protector, had his horse killed under him: The standard was near being taken: And had the Scots possessed any good body of cavalry, who could have pursued the advantage, the whole English army had been exposed to great danger[e].

The protector, meanwhile, assisted by sir Ralph Sadler and sir Ralph Vane, employed himself with diligence and success in rallying the cavalry. Warwic showed great presence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled: He made sir Peter Meutas advance, captain of the foot harquebusiers, and sir Peter Gamboa, captain of some Italian and Spanish harquebusiers on horseback; and ordered them to ply the Scottish infantry with their shot. They marched to the slough, and discharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: The ships galled them from the flank: The artillery, planted on a height, infested them from the front: The English archers poured in a shower of arrows upon them: And the vanguard, descending from the hill, advanced leisurely, and in good order, towards them. Dismayed with all these circumstances, the Scottish van began to retreat: The retreat soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers. The panic of the van communicated itself to the main body, and passing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The English army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the pursuit with loud shouts and acclamations, which added still more to the dismay of the vanquished.

[e] Patten. Hollingshed, p. 986.

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The horse in particular, eager to revenge the affront which they had received in the beginning of the day, did the most bloody execution on the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the whole ground was strowed with dead bodies. The priests above all, and the monks, received no quarter; and the English made sport of slaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an enterprise so ill befitting their profession. Few victories have been more decisive, or gained with smaller loss to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English; and, according to the most moderate computation, there perished above ten thousand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood.

The queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were scarcely able to collect such a body of forces as could check the incursions of small parties of the English. About the same time the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the west marches, at the head of five thousand men, and after taking and plundering Annan, they spread devastation over all the neighbouring counties[f]. Had Somerset prosecuted his advantages, he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scottish nation: But he was impatient to return to England, where he heard some counsellors, and even his own brother the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. Having taken the castles of Hume, Dunglass, Eymouth, Fastcastle, Roxborough, and some other small places, and having received the submission of some counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, besides destroying all the shipping along the coast, took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they there

[f] Hollingshed, p. 992.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547. left a garrison. Arran desired leave to send commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Berwic for the place of conference, left Warwic with full powers to negotiate: But no commissioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artifice to gain time till succours should arrive from France.

4th Nov. THE protector, on his arrival in England, summoned a parliament: And being somewhat elated with his success against the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges that had usually been possessed by any prince of the blood, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent the king employed his dispensing power, by setting aside the statute of precedency enacted during the former reign [g]. But if Somerset gave offence by assuming too much state, he deserves great praise on account of the laws passed this session, by which the rigour of former statutes was much mitigated, and some security given to the freedom of the constitution. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III. [h]; all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles. None were to be accused for words, but within a month after they were spoken. By these repeals several of the most rigorous laws that ever had passed in England were annulled; and some dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no precise standard by which that crime could be defined or deter-

A parliament.

[g] Rymer, vol. xv. p. 164. [h] 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

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determined: A circumftance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public fecurity, according to the difpofition of the judges.

A REPEAL alfo paffed of that law, the deftruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a ftatute [i]. That other law likewife was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every ftatute paffed before the four-and-twentieth year of his age: He could prevent their future execution; but could not recal any paft effects which had enfued from them [k].

IT was alfo enacted, That all who denied the king's fupremacy, or afferted the pope's, fhould for the firft offence forfeit their goods and chattels, and fuffer imprifonment during pleafure; for the fecond offence fhould incur the penalty of a *præmunire*; and for the third be attainted of treafon. But if any, after the firft of March enfuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his eftate or titles, particularly of his fupremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treafon. If any of the heirs of the crown fhould ufurp upon another, or endeavour to break the order of fucceffion, it was declared treafon in them, their aiders and abettors. Thefe were the moft confiderable acts paffed during this feffion. The members in general difcovered a very paffive difpofition with regard to religion: Some few appeared zealous for the reformation: Others fecretly harboured a ftrong propenfity to the catholic faith: But the greater part appeared willing to take any impreffion which they fhould receive from intereft, authority, or the reigning fafhion [l].

THE convocation met at the fame time with the parliament; and as it was found that their debates

[i] 1 Edw. VI. c. 2. [k] Ibid. [l] Heylin, p. 48.

 were

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were at first cramped by the rigorous statute of the six articles, the king granted them a dispensation from that law, before it was repealed by parliament[m]. The lower house of convocation applied to have liberty of sitting with the commons in parliament; or if this privilege were refused them, which they claimed as their ancient right, they desired that no law regarding religion might pass in parliament without their consent and approbation. But the principles which now prevailed were more favourable to the civil than to the ecclesiastical power; and this demand of the convocation was rejected.

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THE protector had assented to the repeal of that law which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of statutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary or discretionary exercise of power, in issuing proclamations, which had ever been assumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to distinguish exactly from a full legislative power. He even continued to exert his authority in some particulars, which were then regarded as the most momentous. Orders were issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-wednesday, palms on Palm-sunday[n]. These were ancient religious practices, now termed superstitions; though it is fortunate for mankind when superstition happens to take a direction so innocent and inoffensive. The severe disposition which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewise the council to abolish some gay and showy ceremonies which belonged to the ancient religion[o].

Farther progress of the reformation.

AN order was also issued by council for the removal of all images from the churches: An innovation which was much desired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a total change of the established

[m] Antiq. Britan. p. 339.
[n] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 59. Collier, vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55.
[o] Burnet, vol. ii.

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religion[p]. An attempt had been made to separate the use of images from their abuse, the reverence from the worship of them; but the execution of this design was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

As private masses were abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new communion-service; and the council went so far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confession wholly indifferent[q]. This was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendant over them. And it may justly be said, that though the priest's absolution, which attends confession, serves somewhat to ease weak minds from the immediate agonies of superstitious terror, it operates only by enforcing superstition itself, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapse into the same disorders.

The people were at that time extremely distracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally unable to judge of the reasons advanced on either side, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church as of equal authority, a great confusion and fluctuation resulted from this uncertainty. The council had first endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience, by laying some restraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they imposed a total silence on the preachers, and thereby put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit[r]. By the nature of things, this restraint could only be temporary. For in proportion as the ceremonies of public worship, its shows and exterior observances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were inclined to con-

p Burnet, vol. ii. p. 60. Collier, vol. ii. 241. Heylin, p. 55.
q Burnet, vol. ii. r Fuller, Heylin, Burnet.

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tract a stronger attachment to sermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amusement. The ancient religion, by giving its votaries something to do, freed them from the trouble of thinking: Sermons were delivered only in the principal churches, and at some particular fasts and festivals: And the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abused, is so powerful an incitement to faction and sedition, had much less scope and influence during those ages.

Affairs of Scotland.

The greater progress was made towards a reformation in England, the farther did the protector find himself from all prospect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to all alliance with a nation which had so far departed from all ancient principles. Somerset, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be strongly garrisoned and fortified by lord Grey: He also erected some fortifications at Lauder: And he hoped that these two places, together with Broughty and some smaller fortresses which were in the hands of the English, would serve as a curb on Scotland, and would give him access into the heart of the country.

Arran, being disappointed in some attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the succours expected from France for the recovery of these places; and they arrived at last in the Frith, to the number of six thousand men; half of them Germans. They were commanded by Dessé, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time so sunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred English horse were able to ravage the whole country without resistance, and make inroads to the gates of the capital[s]: But on the appearance of the French succours, they collected more courage; and having joined Dessé with a consider-

[s] Beagué, Hist. of the Campagnes 1548 and 1549, p. 6.

able

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able reinforcement, they laid ſiege to Haddington[t]. This was an undertaking for which they were by themſelves totally unfit; and, even with the aſſiſtance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of ſucceſs in ſtarving the garriſon. After ſome vain attempts to take the place by a regular ſiege, the blockade was formed, and the garriſon was repulſed with loſs in ſeveral ſallies which they made upon the beſiegers.

THE hoſtile attempts which the late king and the protector had made againſt Scotland not being ſteady, regular, nor puſhed to the laſt extremity, had ſerved only to irritate the nation, and to inſpire them with the ſtrongeſt averſion to that union, which was courted in ſo violent a manner. Even thoſe who were inclined to the Engliſh alliance, were diſpleaſed to have it impoſed on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley in particular ſaid pleaſantly, that he diſliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing[u]. The queen-dowager, finding theſe ſentiments to prevail, called a parliament in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there propoſed, that the young queen, for her greater ſecurity, ſhould be ſent to France, and be committed to the cuſtody of that ancient ally. Some objected, that this meaſure was deſperate, allowed no reſource in caſe of miſcarriage, expoſed the Scots to be ſubjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient by which they could conciliate the friendſhip of that powerful nation. It was anſwered, on the other hand, that the queen's preſence was the very cauſe of war with England; that that nation would deſiſt when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by ſo high a mark of confidence, would take their ſovereign under his protection, and uſe

[t] Hollingſhed, p. 993. [u] Heylin, p. 46. Patten.

 his

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his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. These arguments w[illegible]e aided by French gold, which was plentifully distributed among the nobles. The governor had a pension conferred on him of twelve thousand livres a year, received the title of duke of Chatelrault, and obtained for his son the command of a hundred men at arms [w]. And as the clergy dreaded the consequence of the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal and industry which either principle or interest could inspire. It was accordingly determined to send the queen to France; and what was understood to be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French gallies lying in the Frith of Forth, set sail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open sea he turned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and came in on the west coast at Dunbarton: An extraordinary voyage for ships of that fabric [x]. The young queen was there committed to him; and being attended by the lords Areskine and Livingstone, she put to sea, and after meeting with some tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after she was betrothed to the dauphin.

Young queen of Scots sent into France.

SOMERSET, pressed by many difficulties at home, and despairing of success in his enterprise against Scotland, was desirous of composing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten years' truce; but as they insisted on his restoring all the places which he had taken, the proposal came to nothing. The Scots recovered the fortresses of Hume and Fastcastle by surprise, and put the garrisons to the sword: They repulsed with loss the English, who, under the command of lord Seymour, made a descent, first in Fife, then at Montrose: In the former action James Stuart, natural brother

[w] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83. Buchanan, lib. xv. Keith, p. 55. Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15. [x] Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15.

to

to the queen, acquired honour; in the latter, Areskine of Dun. An attempt was made by ſir Robert Bowes and ſir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a conſiderable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but theſe troops falling into an ambuſcade, were almoſt wholly cut in pieces [y]. And though a ſmall body of two hundred men eſcaped all the vigilance of the French, and arrived ſafely in Haddington, with ſome ammunition and proviſions, the garriſon was reduced to ſuch difficulties, that the protector found it neceſſary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raiſed an army of eighteen thouſand men, and adding three thouſand Germans, who on the diſſolution of the proteſtant alliance had offered their ſervice to England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl of Shrewſbury [z]. Deſſé raiſed the blockade on the approach of the Engliſh; and with great difficulty made good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he poſted himſelf advantageouſly. Shrewſbury, who had loſt the opportunity of attacking him on his march, durſt not give him battle in his preſent ſituation; and contenting himſelf with the advantage already gained, of ſupplying Haddington, he retired into England.

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Though the protection of France was of great conſequence to the Scots, in ſupporting them againſt the invaſions of England, they reaped ſtill more benefit from the diſtractions and diviſions which had creeped into the councils of this latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not content with the high ſtations which they ſeverally enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had ariſen, had entertained the moſt violent jealouſy of each other; and they divided the whole court and kingdom by their oppoſite cabals and pretenſions. Lord Seymour was a man of inſatiable ambition; arrogant, aſſuming, implacable; and though

Cabals of lord Seymour.

[y] Stowe, p. 595. Hollingſhed, p. 994. [z] Hayward, p. 291.

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esteemed of superior capacity to the protector, he possessed not to the same degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and address he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the demise of the late king: Insomuch that, had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the dutchess of Somerset, who, uneasy that the younger brother's wife should have the precedency, employed all her credit with her husband, which was too great, first to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers[a].

The first symptoms of this misunderstanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerset, remarked, that Seymour was forming separate intrigues among the counsellors; was corrupting, by presents, the king's servants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgencies and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget represented to him the danger of this conduct; desired him to reflect on the numerous enemies, whom the sudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him, that any dissension between him and the protector would be greedily laid hold of to effect the ruin of both. Finding his remonstrances neglected, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerset, and engaged him to leave the enterprise upon Scotland unfinished, in order to guard against the attempts of his domestic enemies. In the ensuing parliament, the admiral's projects appeared still more dangerous to public tranquility; and as he had acquired many partisans, he

[a] Hayward, p. 301. Heylin, p. 72. Camden. Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 5. Haynes, p. 69.

made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. He represented to his friends, that formerly, during a minority, the office of protector of the kingdom had been kept separate from that of governor of the king's person; and that the present union of these two important trusts conferred on Somerset an authority which could not safely be lodged in any subject[b]. The young king was even prevailed on to write a letter to the parliament, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and that nobleman had formed a party in the two houses, by which he hoped to effect his purpose. The design was discovered before its execution; and some common friends were sent to remonstaate with him; but had so little influence, that he threw out many menacing expressions, and rashly threatened, that if he were thwarted in his attempt, he would make this parliament the blackest that ever sat in England[c]. The council sent for him to answer for his conduct; but he refused to attend: They then began to threaten in their turn, and informed him that the king's letter, instead of availing him any thing to the execution of his views, would be imputed to him as a criminal enterprise, and be construed as a design to disturb the government, by forming a separate interest with a child and minor. They even let fall some menaces of sending him to the Tower for his temerity; and the admiral, finding himself prevented in his design, was obliged to submit, and to desire a reconciliation with his brother.

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THE mild and moderate temper of Somerset made him willing to forget these enterprises of the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent spirit could not be so easily appeased. His spouse, the queen-dowager, died in child-bed; but so far from regarding this event as a check to his aspiring views, he founded on it the scheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addresses to the lady Eliza-

b Haynes, p. 82. 90. c Ibid. p. 75.

beth,

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beth, then in the ſixteenth year of her age; and that princeſs, whom even the hurry of buſineſs and the purſuits of ambition could not, in her more advanced years, diſengage entirely from the tender paſſions, ſeems to have liſtened to the inſinuations of a man who poſſeſſed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair[e]. But as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from all hopes of ſucceſſion, if they married without the conſent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; it was concluded that he meant to effect his purpoſe by expedients ſtill more raſh and more criminal. All the other meaſures of the admiral tended to confirm this ſuſpicion. He continued to attack, by preſents, the fidelity of thoſe who had more immediate acceſs to the king's perſon: He endeavoured to ſeduce the young prince into his intereſts: He found means of holding a private correſpondence with him: He openly decried his brother's adminiſtration; and aſſerted, that by enliſting Germans and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which might endanger the king's authority, and the liberty of the people: By promiſes and perſuaſion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had extended his intereſt all over England: He neglected not even the moſt popular perſons of inferior rank; and had computed that he could, on occaſion, muſter an army of 10,000 men, compoſed of his ſervants, tenants, and retainers[f]: He had already provided arms for their uſe; and having engaged in his intereſts ſir John Sharington, a corrupt man, maſter of the mint at Briſtol, he flattered himſelf that money would not be wanting. Somerſet was well appriſed of all theſe alarming circumſtances, and endeavoured, by the moſt friendly expedients, by intreaty, reaſon, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him deſiſt from his dangerous counſels; but finding

all

[e] Haynes, p. 95, 96. 102. 108.

[f] Ibid. p. 105, 106.

all endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more severe remedies. The earl of Warwic was an ill instrument between the brothers; and had formed the design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raise his own fortune on the ruins of both. CHAP. XXXIV. 1548.

Dudley earl of Warwic.

DUDLEY earl of Warwic was the son of that Dudley minister to Henry VII. who having by rapine, extortion, and perversion of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been sacrificed to popular animosity in the beginning of the subsequent reign. The late king, sensible of the iniquity, at least illegality of the sentence, had afterwards restored young Dudley's blood by act of parliament; and finding him endowed with abilities, industry, and activity, he had entrusted him with many important commands, and had ever found him successful in his undertakings. He raised him to the dignity of viscount Lisle, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made still farther progress during the minority; and having obtained the title of earl of Warwic, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the chief rank among the protector's counsellors. The victory gained at Pinkey was much ascribed to his courage and conduct; and he was universally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and of war. But all these virtues were obscured by still greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an insatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of justice: And as he found that lord Seymour, whose abilities and enterprising spirit he chiefly dreaded, was involving himself in ruin by his rash counsels, he was determined to push him on the precipice, and thereby remove the chief obstacle to his own projected greatness.

WHEN Somerset found that the public peace was endangered by his brother's seditious, not to say rebellious schemes, he was the more easily persuaded by Warwic to employ the extent of royal authority

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against him; and, after depriving him of the office of admiral, he signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy-counsellors being sent to examine them, made a report that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to desist from the prosecution, if Seymour would promise him a cordial reconciliation; and, renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other answer to these friendly offers than menaces and defiances, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles[g]; and the whole to be laid before the privy council. It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestably proved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the Tower in order more fully to examine the prisoner. He was not daunted by the appearance: He boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witnesses; desired that the charge might be left with him, in order to be considered; and refused to answer any interrogatories by which he might accuse himself.

It is apparent that, notwithstanding what is pretended, there must have been some deficiency in the evidence against Seymour, when such demands, founded on the plainest principles of law and equity, were absolutely rejected. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and scarcely capable of any proof; many of them, if true, susceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that though on the whole Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treason-

[g] Burnet, vol. ii. Col. 31. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

able

able projects imputed to him. The chief part of his actual guilt seems to have consisted in some unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pirates were protected, and illegal impositions laid upon the merchants.

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But the administration had at that time an easy instrument of vengeance, to wit, the parliament; and needed not to give themselves any concern with regard either to the guilt of the persons whom they prosecuted, or the evidence which could be produced against them. A session of parliament being held, it was resolved to proceed against Seymour by bill of attainder; and the young king being induced, after much solicitation, to give his consent to it, a considerable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was first laid before the upper house; and several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words or actions. These narratives were received as undoubted evidence; and though the prisoner had formerly engaged many friends and partisans among the nobility, no one had either the courage or equity to move that he might be heard in his defence, that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses. A little more scruple was made in the house of commons: There were even some members who objected against the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder passed in absence; and insisted that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. But when a message was sent by the king, enjoining the house to proceed, and offering that the same narratives should be laid before them which had satisfied the peers, they were easily prevailed on to acquiesce[h]. The bill passed in a full house. Near four hundred voted for it; not above nine or ten against it[i]. The sentence was soon after exe-

A parliament. 4th Nov.

1549. Attainder of lord Seymour.

March 20.

[h] 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18. [i] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 99.

cuted,

CHAP. XXXIV. 1549. His execution.

cuted, and the prisoner was beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset, who was exposed to much blame on account of the violence of these proceedings. The attempts of the admiral seem chiefly to have been levelled against his brother's usurped authority; and though his ambitious enterprising character, encouraged by a marriage with the lady Elizabeth, might have endangered the public tranquillity, the prudence of foreseeing evils at such a distance was deemed too great, and the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be said that this bill of attainder was somewhat more tolerable than the preceding ones, to which the nation had been enured; for here, at least, some shadow of evidence was produced.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

ALL the considerable business transacted this session, besides the attainder of lord Seymour, regarded ecclesiastical affairs; which were now the chief object of attention throughout the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to compose a liturgy; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with moderation in this delicate undertaking: They retained as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit: They indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which so naturally takes place in all great innovations: And they flattered themselves that they had established a service in which every denomination of Christians might without scruple concur. The mass had always been celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed absurd, had it not been found useful to the clergy, by impressing the people with an idea of some mysterious unknown virtue in those rites, and by checking all their pretensions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion. But as the reformers pretended in some few particulars to encourage private judgment in the laity, the translation of the liturgy, as well as of the

the Scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, ſeemed more conformable to the genius of their ſect; and this innovation, with the retrenching of prayers to ſaints, and of ſome ſuperſtitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old maſs and the new liturgy. The parliament eſtabliſhed this form of worſhip in all the churches, and ordained a uniformity to be obſerved in all the rites and ceremonies[k].

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THERE was another material act which paſſed this ſeſſion. The former canons had eſtabliſhed the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice is uſually aſcribed to the policy of the court of Rome, who thought that the eccleſiaſtics would be more devoted to their ſpiritual head, and leſs dependant on the civil magiſtrate, when freed from the powerful tie of wives and children; yet was this inſtitution much forwarded by the principles of ſuperſtition inherent in human nature. Theſe principles had rendered the panegyrics on an inviolate chaſtity ſo frequent among the ancient fathers, long before the eſtabliſhment of celibacy. And even this parliament, though they enacted a law permitting the marriage of prieſts, yet confeſs in the preamble, "That it were better for prieſts and the miniſters "of the church to live chaſte and without marriage, "and it were much to be wiſhed they would of "themſelves abſtain." The inconveniences which had ariſen from the compelling of chaſtity and the prohibiting of marriage, are the reaſons aſſigned for indulging a liberty in this particular[l]. The ideas of penance alſo were ſo much retained in other particulars, that an act of parliament paſſed, forbidding the uſe of fleſh-meat during Lent and other times of abſtinence[m].

k 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.
l 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 21.
m 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 19. See note [Q] at the end of the volume.

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THE principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, such as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England. But the doctrine of the real presence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion-service, and by the abolition of many ancient rites, still retained some hold on the minds of men; and it was the last doctrine of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people [n]. The great attachment of the late king to that tenet might in part be the ground of this obstinacy; but the chief cause was really the extreme absurdity of the principle itself, and the profound veneration which of course it impressed on the imagination. The priests likewise were much inclined to favour an opinion which attributed to them so miraculous a power; and the people, who believed that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loth to renounce so extraordinary, and as they imagined, so salutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was so violent, that the Lutherans, notwithstanding their separation from Rome, had thought proper, under another name, still to retain it: And the catholic preachers in England, when restrained in all other particulars, could not forbear on every occasion inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his see, and had been committed to custody. Gardiner also, who had recovered his liberty, appeared anew refractory to the authority which established the late innovations; and he seemed willing to countenance that opinion, much favoured by all the English catholics, that the king was indeed supreme head of the church, but not the council during a minority. Having declined to give full satisfaction on this head, he was sent to the Tower, and

[n] Burnet. vol. ii. p. 104.

threatened

threatened with farther effects of the council's displeasure. CHAP. XXXIV.

THESE severities, being exercised on men possessed of office and authority, seemed in that age a necessary policy, in order to enforce a uniformity in public worship and discipline: But there were other instances of persecution, derived from no origin but the bigotry of theologians; a malady which seems almost incurable. Though the protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain that they would suffer no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. A commission by act of council was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemnors of the book of common prayer [o]. The commissioners were enjoined to reclaim them if possible; to impose penance on them; and to give them absolution: Or if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm: And in the execution of this charge, they were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were over-ruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not sin, and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or

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[o] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 3. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 181.

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Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious, that the commissioners could make no impression upon her. Her doctrine was, "That Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh, being the outward man, was sinfully begotten, and born in sin; and consequently, he could take none of it: But the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh [p]." This opinion, it would seem, is not orthodox; and there was a necessity for delivering the woman to the flames for maintaining it. But the young king, though in such tender years, had more sense than all his counsellors and preceptors; and he long refused to sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to compliance; and he said that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity and those which were in direct contradiction to the Apostles creed: These latter were impieties against God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repress; in like manner, as inferior magistrates were bound to punish offences against the king's person. Edward, overcome by importunity, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that if any wrong were done, the guilt should lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obstinate against all his arguments, at last committed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the heresy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satisfaction that he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him; a species of frenzy, of which there is more than one instance among the martyrs of that age [q].

p Burnet, vol. ii. coll. 35. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.
q Burnet, vol. ii. p. 112. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.

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These rigorous methods of proceeding soon brought the whole nation to a conformity, seeming or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to admit the established modes of worship. When pressed and menaced on this head, she applied to the emperor; who using his interest with sir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council[r].

[r] Heylin, p. 102.

CHAP. XXXV.

Discontents of the people——Insurrections——Conduct of the war with Scotland—with France——Factions in the council——Conspiracy against Somerset——Somerset resigns the protectorship——A parliament——Peace with France and Scotland——Boulogne surrendered——Persecution of Gardiner——Warwic created duke of Northumberland——His ambition——Trial of Somerset——His execution——A parliament——A new parliament——Succession changed——The king's sickness——and death.

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1549. Discontents of the people.

THERE is no abuse so great in civil society, as not to be attended with a variety of beneficial consequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly, while the benefit resulting from the change is the slow effect of time, and is seldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favourable in the main to the interests of mankind than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which having ceased by the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks always residing in their convents in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a sure resource to the poor and indigent; and though their hospitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleness, and prevented the increase of public riches,

yet

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yet did it provide to many a relief from the extreme pressures of want and necessity. It is also observable, that as the friars were limited by the rules of their institution to a certain mode of living, they had not equal motives for extortion with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they still are in Roman catholic countries, the best and most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were permitted to give leases at an under-value, and to receive in return a large present from the tenant; in the same manner as is still practised by the bishops and colleges. But when the abbey-lands were distributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: The rents of farms were raised, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce; the money was often spent in the capital; and the farmers living at a distance, were exposed to oppression from their new masters, or to the still greater rapacity of the stewards.

THESE grievances of the common people were at that time heightened by other causes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England these arts had made greater progress than the knowledge of agriculture; a profession which of all mechanical employments requires the most reflection and experience. A great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home: Pasturage was found more profitable than unskilful tillage: Whole estates were laid waste by inclosures: The tenants, regarded as a useless burden, were expelled their habitations: Even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery: And a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom[s]. This grievance was

[s] Strype, vol. ii. Repository Q.

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now of an old date; and ſir Thomas More, alluding to it, obſerves in his Utopia, that a ſheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

The general increaſe alſo of gold and ſilver in Europe, after the diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies, had a tendency to inflame theſe complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could eaſily be tranſported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not ſo eaſily change their habitation, ſtill remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a ſubſiſtence by their induſtry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a maintenance; and though this increaſe of induſtry was at laſt the effect of the preſent ſituation, and an effect beneficial to ſociety, yet was it difficult for the people to ſhake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but neceſſity could compel them to ſuch an exertion of their faculties.

It muſt alſo be remarked, that the profuſion of Henry VIII. had reduced him, notwithſtanding his rapacity, to ſuch difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a preſent neceſſity, by the pernicious expedient of debaſing the coin; and the wars in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry ſtill farther the ſame abuſe. The uſual conſequences enſued: The good ſpecie was hoarded or exported; baſe metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchaſe commodities at the uſual rates; a univerſal diffidence and ſtagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

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The protector, who loved popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by his endeavours to redress them. He appointed a commission for making inquiry concerning inclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late inclosures to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with such countenance from government, began to rise in several places, and to commit disorders, but were quieted by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater satisfaction, Somerset appointed new commissioners, whom he sent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages [t]. As this commission was disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they stigmatised it as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redress, could no longer contain their fury, but sought for a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by sir William Herbert: Those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Glocester, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field: Others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences.

Insurrections.

The commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual complaints against inclosures and against oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Sampford-Courtenay had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of the subject in the present emergency made

t Burnet, vol. ii. p. 115. Strype, vol. ii. p. 171.

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the insurrection immediately appear formidable. In other counties the gentry had kept closely united with government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphry Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of ten thousand. Lord Russel had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to negociate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed [u]. The council, to whom Russel transmitted these demands, sent a haughty answer; commanded the rebels to disperse, and promised them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched to Exeter; carrying before them crosses, banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other implements of ancient superstition; together with the hoste, which they covered with a canopy [w]. The citizens of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining, but were repulsed in every attempt. Russel meanwhile lay at Honiton till reinforced by sir William Herbert and lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian arquebusiers under Battista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon them both in the action and pursuit [x],

[u] Hayward, p. 292. Hollingshed, p. 1003. Fox, vol. ii. p. 666. Mem. Cranm. p. 186. [w] Heylin, p. 76. [x] Stowe's Annals, p. 597. Hayward, p. 295.

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and took many prisoners. Arundel and the other leaders were sent to London, tried and executed. Many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law[y]: The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish weeds, with his beads at his girdle[z].

THE insurrection in Norfolk rose to a still greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. The populace were at first excited, as in other places, by complaints against inclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thousand, they grew insolent, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of the ancient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government over them, and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance and outrage. Having taken possession of Moushold-hill near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation; and summoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave such decrees as might be expected from his character and situation. The marquis of Northampton was first ordered against him; but met with a repulse in an action where lord Sheffield was killed[a]. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels: He therefore sent the earl of Warwic at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars against Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increasing his reputation and character. Warwic having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell

[y] Hayward, p. 295, 296. [z] Heylin, p. 76. Hollingshed, p. 1026. [a] Stowe, p. 597. Hollingshed, p. 1030—34. Strype, vol. ii. p. 174.

 in

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in the action and pursuit: Ket was hanged at Norwich castle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. Some rebels in Yorkshire, learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was soon after published by the protector[b].

Conduct of the war with Scotland;

But though the insurrections were thus quickly subdued in England, and no traces of them seemed to remain, they were attended with bad consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwic, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprise; and the French general had leisure to reduce that country to some settlement and composure. He took the fortress of Broughty, and put the garrison to the sword. He straitened the English at Haddington; and though lord Dacres was enabled to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garrison, it was found at last very chargeable, and even impracticable to keep possession of that fortress. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid waste by the inroads both of the Scots and English, and could afford no supply to the garrison: The place lay above thirty miles from the borders; so that a regular army was necessary to escort any provisions thither: And as the plague had broken out among the troops, they perished daily, and were reduced to a state of great weakness. For these reasons, orders were given to dismantle Haddington, and to convey the artillery and garrison to Berwic; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the east marches, executed the orders.

with France.

The king of France also took advantage of the distractions among the English, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne, and that territory,

[b] Hayward, p. 297, 298, 299.

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which Henry VIII. had conquered from France. On other pretences he aſſembled an army; and falling ſuddenly upon the Boulonnois, took the caſtles of Sellaque, Blackneſs, and Ambleteuſe, though well ſupplied with garriſons, ammunition, and proviſions [c]. He endeavoured to ſurpriſe Boulenberg, and was repulſed; but the garriſon, not thinking the place tenable after the loſs of the other fortreſſes, deſtroyed the works and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a peſtilential diſtemper which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of ſucceſs againſt Boulogne itſelf; and he retired to Paris [d]. He left the command of the army to Gaſpar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, ſo famous afterwards by the name of admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the ſiege early in the ſpring. The active diſpoſition of this general engaged him to make, during the winter, ſeveral attempts againſt the place; but they all proved unſucceſsful.

Strozzi, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a deſcent on Jerſey; but meeting there with an Engliſh fleet, he commenced an action which ſeems not to have been deciſive, ſince the hiſtorians of the two nations differ in the account of the event [e].

As ſoon as the French war broke out, the protector endeavoured to fortify himſelf with the alliance of the emperor; and he ſent over ſecretary Paget to Bruſſels, where Charles then kept court, in order to aſſiſt ſir Philip Hobby, the reſident ambaſſador, in this negotiation. But that prince had formed a deſign of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion for the catholic religion;

[c] Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 6. [d] Hayward, p. 300.
[e] Thuan. King Edward's Journal, Stowe, p. 597.

and

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and though extremely desirous of accepting the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into strict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connexions with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendship from England; and eluded the applications of the ambassadors. An exact account is preserved of this negotiation in a letter of Hobby's; and it is remarkable that the emperor, in a conversation with the English ministers, asserted that the prerogatives of a king of England were more extensive than those of a king of France [f]. Burnet, who preserves this letter, subjoins, as a parallel instance, that one objection which the Scots made to marrying their queen with Edward was, that all their privileges would be swallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of England [g].

Somerset, despairing of assistance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and besides that he was not in a condition to maintain such ruinous wars, he thought that there no longer remained any object of hostility. The Scots had sent away their queen; and could not, if ever so much inclined, complete the marriage contracted with Edward: And as Henry VIII. had stipulated to restore Boulogne in 1554, it seemed a matter of small moment to anticipate a few years the execution of the treaty. But when he proposed these reasons to the council, he met with strong opposition from his enemies, who seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification. The factions ran high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an issue fatal to the authority of the protector.

[f] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 132. 175. [g] Idem, p. 133.

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Factions in the council.

After Somerset obtained the patent investing him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other executors and counsellors; and being elated with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought that every one ought in every thing to yield to his sentiments. All those who were not entirely devoted to him were sure to be neglected; whoever opposed his will received marks of anger or contempt [h]; and while he shewed a resolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not in any respect proportioned to his ambition. Warwic, more subtle and artful, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having associated himself with Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, he formed a strong party, who were determined to free themselves from the slavery imposed on them by the protector.

The malcontent counsellors found the disposition of the nation favourable to their designs. The nobility and gentry were in general displeased with the preference which Somerset seemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed all the insults to which they had been lately exposed to his procrastination and to the countenance shown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requests in his own house for the relief of the people [i], and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be deemed illegal, if any exertion of prerogative at that time could with certainty deserve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a stretch of power, seemed the more impolitic, because it disgusted the nobles, the surest support of monarchical authority.

[h] Strype, vol. ii. p. 181. [i] Ibid. p. 183.

But

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But though Somerset courted the people, the interest which he had formed with them was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: The introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was represented in invidious colours: The great estate which he had suddenly acquired at the expence of the church and of the crown rendered him obnoxious; and the palace which he was building in the Strand served, by its magnificence, and still more by other circumstances which attended it, to expose him to the censure of the public. The parish church of St Mary, with three bishops houses, was pulled down, in order to furnish ground and materials for this structure: Not content with that sacrilege, an attempt was made to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, and to employ the stones to the same purpose; but the parishioners rose in a tumult and chased away the protector's tradesmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's Church-yard, with a cloister and charnel house belonging to it; and these edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jerusalem, were made use of to raise his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones being carried away were buried in unconsecrated ground[k].

6th Oct.

Conspiracy against Somerset.

All these imprudences were remarked by Somerset's enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwic, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-house; and assuming to

[k] Heylin, p. 72, 73. Stowe's Survey of London. Hayward, p. 303.

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themſelves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they repreſented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the preſent meaſures, and requiring their aſſiſtance: They ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerſet. They laid the ſame injunctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who expreſſed his reſolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, ſir Thomas Cheney, ſir John Gage, ſir Ralph Sadler, and chief juſtice Montague, joined the malcontent counſellors; and every thing bore a bad aſpect for the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had ſent to treat with the council, rather choſe to remain with them: The common council of the city, being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new meaſures, and their reſolution of ſupporting them[1].

As ſoon as the protector heard of the defection of the counſellors, he removed the king from Hampton-court, where he then reſided, to the caſtle of Windſor; and, arming his friends and ſervants, ſeemed reſolute to defend himſelf againſt all his enemies. But finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not riſe at his ſummons, that the city and Tower had declared againſt him, that even his beſt friends had deſerted him, he loſt all hopes of ſucceſs, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveneſs. No ſooner was this deſpondency known, than lord Ruſſel, ſir John Baker ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and three counſellors more,

[1] Stowe, p. 597, 598. Hollingſhed, p. 1057.

 who

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who had hitherto remained neuters, joined the party of Warwic, whom every one now regarded as master. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the same purpose; and they made addresses to the king, in which, after the humblest protestations of duty and submission, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had chosen the duke of Somerset protector, under the express condition that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority, and had neglected, and even in every thing opposed their counsel; that he had proceeded to that height of presumption as to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person: They therefore begged that they might be admitted to his royal presence; that he would be pleased to restore them to his confidence, and that Somerset's servants might be dismissed. Their request was complied with: Somerset capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promised him. He was, however, sent to the Tower[m], with some of his friends and partisans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards so much distinguished. Articles of indictment were exhibited against him[n]; of which the chief, at least the best founded, is his usurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole administration of affairs. The clause of his patent, which invested him with absolute power unlimited by any law, was never objected to him; plainly because, according to the sentiments of those times, that power was in some degree involved in the very idea of regal authority.

Somerset resigns the protectorship.

THE catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they had ascribed all the late inno-

[m] Stowe, p. 600. [n] Burnet, vol. ii. book i. coll. 46. Hayward, p. 308. Stowe, p. 601. Hollingshed, p. 1059.

8 vations

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vations to Somerſet's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwic, who now bore chief ſway in the council, was intirely indifferent with regard to all theſe points of controverſy; and finding that the principles of the reformation had ſunk deeper into Edward's mind than to be eaſily eradicated, he was determined to comply with the young prince's inclinations, and not to hazard his new acquired power by any dangerous enterpriſe. He took care very early to expreſs his intentions of ſupporting the reformation; and he threw ſuch diſcouragements on Southampton, who ſtood at the head of the Romaniſts, and whom he conſidered as a dangerous rival, that that high-ſpirited nobleman retired from the council, and ſoon after died from vexation and diſappointment. The other counſellors, who had concurred in the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Ruſſel was created earl of Bedford: The marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth, beſides the office of chamberlain of the houſehold, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torn from the ſee of London[o]. A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, and which, being founded on an act of parliament, was the only legal one; but compoſed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerſet, and who derived their ſeat from an authority which was now declared uſurped and illegal. But ſuch niceties were during that age little underſtood, and ſtill leſs regarded, in England.

4th Nov. A parliament.

A SESSION of parliament was held; and as it was the uſual maxim of that aſſembly to acquieſce in every adminiſtration which was eſtabliſhed, the council

[o] Heylin, p. 85. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 226.

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dreaded no opposition from that quarter, and had more reason to look for a corroboration of their authority. Somerset had been prevailed on to confess on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and he imputed these misdemeanors to his own rashness, folly, and indiscretion, not to any malignity of intention[p]. He even subscribed this confession; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwic earl marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king: He recovered his liberty: And Warwic, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much lessened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset[q].

During this session a severe law was passed against riots[r]. It was enacted, That if any, to the number of twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state, and being required by a lawful magistrate should not disperse, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about inclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony: Any attempt to kill a privy counsellor was subjected to the same penalty. The bishops had made an application, complaining that they were deprived of all their power by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law; that they could summon no offender before them, punish no vice, or exert the

[p] Heylin, p. 84. Hayward, p. 309. Stowe, p. 603.
[q] Hayward, p. 309. [r] 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 5.

discipline

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discipline of the church: From which diminution of their authority, they pretended, immorality had every where received great encouragement and increase. The design of some was to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church: But others thought, that such an authority committed to the bishops would prove more oppressive than confession, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the Romish superstition. The parliament for the present contented themselves with empowering the king to appoint thirty-two commissioners to compile a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parliament. Such implicit trust did they repose in the crown; without reflecting that all their liberties and properties might be affected by these canons[s]. The king did not live to affix the royal sanction to the new canons. Sir John Sharington, whose crimes and malversations had appeared so egregious at the condemnation of lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reversal of his attainder[t]. This man sought favour with the more zealous reformers; and bishop Latimer affirmed, that though formerly he had been a most notorious knave, he was now so penitent that he had become a very honest man.

1550. Peace with France and Scotland.

When Warwic and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves involved in the same difficulties that had embarrassed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; seemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could attain. The project of peace entertained by Somerset had served them as a pretence for clamour against his administration; yet, after sending sir Thomas

[s] 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 2. [t] Ibid. c. 13.

 Cheney

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Cheney to the emperor, and making again a fruitless effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themselves obliged to listen to the advances which Henry made them, by the canal of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, sir John Mason, Paget and Petre, were sent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negociate. The French king absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England as arrears of pensions; and said that he never would consent to render himself tributary to any prince: But he offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thousand crowns were at last agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: The English stipulated to restore Lauder and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth[u]. No sooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a close alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a proposal so suitable both to his interests and his inclinations. An agreement some time after was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negotiation, fully settled[w]: But this project never took effect.

Boulogne surrendered. March 24.

The intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent persecutor of the protestants, was nowise acceptable to that party in England: But in all other respects the council was steady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws against the Romanists. Several prelates were still addicted to that communion; and though they made

[u] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 148. Hayward, p. 310, 311, 312. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 211. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 293.

[w] Hayward, p. 318. Heylin, p. 104.

some

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ſome compliances, in order to ſave their biſhoprics, they retarded, as much as they ſafely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to ſuch incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A reſolution was therefore taken to ſeek pretences for depriving thoſe prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more eaſy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commiſſions, in which it was declared, that they held their ſees during the king's pleaſure only. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to ſtrike a terror into the reſt. The method of proceeding againſt him was violent, and had ſcarcely any colour of law or juſtice. Injunctions had been given him to inculcate, in a ſermon, the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority; and becauſe he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into priſon, and had been there detained during two years, without being accuſed of any crime except diſobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerſet, ſecretary Petre, and ſome others of the council, were now ſent, in order to try his temper, and endeavoured to find ſome grounds for depriving him: He profeſſed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of ſupporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the diſpoſition which they expected or deſired[x]. A new deputation was therefore ſent, who carried him ſeveral articles to ſubſcribe. He was required to acknowledge his former miſbehaviour, and to confeſs the juſtice of his confinement: He was likewiſe to own, that the king was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making and diſpenſing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the book of common-prayer was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete ſovereign in his minority; that the law of the ſix articles was juſtly repealed;

[x] Heylin, p. 99.

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and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in ecclesiastical discipline, government, or doctrine. The bishop was willing to set his hand to all the articles except the first: He maintained his conduct to have been inoffensive; and declared that he would not own himself guilty of faults which he had never committed [y].

THE council, finding that he had gone such lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance, by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and sending him new articles to subscribe. A list was selected of such points as they thought would be the hardest of digestion; and, not content with this rigour, they also insisted on his submission, and his acknowledgment of past errors. To make this subscription more mortifying, they demanded a promise, that he would recommend and publish all these articles from the pulpit: But Gardiner, who saw that they intended either to ruin or dishonour him, or perhaps both, determined not to gratify his enemies by any farther compliance: He still maintained his innocence; desired a fair trial; and refused to subscribe more articles, till he should recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his bishopric was put under sequestration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commission was appointed to try, or, more properly speaking, to condemn him. The commissioners were, the primate, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, secretary Petre, sir James Hales, and some other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any statute or precedent; and he appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded: Sentence was pronounced against him: He was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody: His books and papers were seized;

[y] Collier, vol. ii. p. 305. from the council books. Heylin, p. 99.

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he was secluded from all company; and it was not allowed him either to send or receive any letters or messages [z].

GARDINER, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure: But the council, unwilling to make use of a concession which had been so illegally and arbitrarily extorted, chose rather to employ some forms of justice; a resolution which led them to commit still greater iniquities and severities. But the violence of the reformers did not stop here. Day bishop of Chichester, Heathe of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics, on pretence of disobedience. Even Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Salisbury, and Sampson of Coventry, though they had complied in every thing, yet not being supposed cordial in their obedience, were obliged to seek protection, by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to the rapacious courtiers [a].

THESE plunderers neglected not even smaller profits. An order was issued by council for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to sir Anthony Aucher [b]. Many of these books were plaited with gold and silver, and curiously embossed; and this finery was probably the superstition that condemned them. Great havoc was likewise made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction: The volumes of divinity suffered for their rich binding: Those of literature were condemned as useless: Those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy [c]. The university had not power to oppose these barbarous violences:

[z] Fox, vol. ii. p. 734, & seq. Burnet, Heylin, Collier.
[a] Goodwin de Præsul. Angl. Heylin, p. 100.
[b] Collier, vol. ii. p. 307. from the council books.
[c] Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 271, 272.

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They were in danger of losing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the earl of Warwic and his associates.

THOUGH every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was during some time connived at; but at last her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkley, were thrown into prison[e]; and remonstrances were made to the princess herself on account of her disobedience. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her sentiments, and to persuade her that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They asked her what warrant there was in scripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the use of images, or offering up the sacrament for the dead; and they desired her to peruse St. Austin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romish superstition, and prove that it was founded merely on false miracles and lying stories[f]. The lady Mary remained obstinate against all this advice, and declared herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion: She only feared, she said, that she was not worthy to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause: And as for protestant books, she thanked God, that as she never had, so she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, she endeavoured to make an escape to her kinsman Charles; but her design was discovered and prevented[g]. The emperor remonstrated in her behalf, and even threatened hostilities, if liberty of conscience were refused her: But though the council, sensible that the kingdom was in no condition to support with honour such a war, was desirous to

e Strype, vol. ii. p. 249. f Fox, vol. ii. Collier, Burnet. g Hayward, p. 315.

comply;

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comply; they found great difficulty to overcome the ſcruples of the young king. He had been educated in ſuch a violent abhorrence of the maſs and other popiſh rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he ſhould participate, he thought in the ſin, if he allowed its commiſſion: And when at laſt the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed ſomewhat over his oppoſition, he burſt into tears; lamenting his ſiſter's obſtinacy, and bewailing his own hard fate, that he muſt ſuffer her to continue in ſuch an abominable mode of worſhip.

THE great object, at this time, of antipathy among the proteſtant ſects was popery, or, more properly ſpeaking, the papiſts. Theſe they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and deſtroy its partiſans by fire and ſword: They had not as yet had leiſure to attend to the other minute differences among themſelves, which afterwards became the object of ſuch furious quarrels and animoſities, and threw the whole kingdom into combuſtion. Several Lutheran divines who had reputation in thoſe days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take ſhelter in England, from the perſecutions which the emperor exerciſed in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John A-laſco, a Poliſh nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigours of the catholics, ſettled during ſome time at Emden in Eaſt Friezland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Foreſeeing the perſecutions which enſued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as induſtrious uſeful people, and deſired to invite over others of the ſame character, not only gave them the church of Auguſtine friars for the exerciſe of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, conſiſting of a ſuperintendant

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tendant and four aſſiſting miniſters. This eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in ſome rites and ceremonies [h].

THESE differences among the proteſtants were matter of triumph to the catholics; who inſiſted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they loſt all criterion of truth and falſehood in matters of religion, and muſt be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every ſect of proteſtants afforded them the ſame topic of reaſoning. The book of Common Prayer ſuffered in England a new reviſal, and ſome rites and ceremonies which had given offence were omitted [i]. The ſpeculative doctrines, or the metaphyſics of religion, were alſo reduced to forty-two articles. Theſe were intended to obviate farther diviſions and variations; and the compiling of them had been poſtponed till the eſtabliſhment of the liturgy, which was juſtly regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is aſſerted in this confeſſion of faith; and care is alſo taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, how virtuous ſoever, can eſcape an endleſs ſtate of the moſt exquiſite miſery, but alſo that every one who preſumes to maintain that any pagan can poſſibly be ſaved, is himſelf expoſed to the penalty of eternal perdition [k].

THE theological zeal of the council, though ſeemingly fervent, went not ſo far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which ſeem to have ever been uppermoſt in their thoughts: They even found leiſure to attend to the public intereſt; nay, to the commerce of the nation, which was at that time very little the object of general ſtudy or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried

[h] Mem. Cranm. p. 234. [i] Ibid. p. 289.
[k] Article xviii.

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on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanse-towns, or Easterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage these merchants to settle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III. had obtained a patent, were endowed with privileges, and were exempted from several heavy duties paid by other aliens. So ignorant were the English of commerce, that this company, usually denominated the merchants of the Stil-yard, engrossed, even down to the reign of Edward, almost the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the shipping of their own country, the navigation of England was also in a very languishing condition. It was therefore thought proper by the council to seek pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Englishmen in the duties which they paid; and as such patents were, during that age, granted by the absolute power of the king, men were the less surprised to find them revoked by the same authority. Several remonstrances were made against this innovation by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanse-towns; but the council persevered in their resolution, and the good effects of it soon became visible to the nation. The English merchants, by their very situation as natives, had advantages above foreigners in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though these advantages had not hitherto been sufficient to rouse their industry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company: But when aliens' duty was also imposed upon all foreigners indiscriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce; and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom[l].

About the same time a treaty was made with Gustavus Ericson, king of Sweden, by which it was

[l] Hayward, p. 326. Heylin, p. 108. Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 295.

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ſtipulated, that if he ſent bullion into England, he might export Engliſh commodities without paying cuſtom; that he ſhould carry bullion to no other prince; that if he ſent ozimus, ſteel, copper, &c. he ſhould pay cuſtom for Engliſh commodities as an Engliſhman; and that if he ſent other merchandize, he ſhould have free intercourſe, paying cuſtom as a ſtranger[m]. The bullion ſent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantity, ſet the mint to work: Good ſpecie was coined: And much of the baſe metal formerly iſſued was recalled: A circumſtance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce.

Warwic created duke of Northumberland.

But all theſe ſchemes for promoting induſtry were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domeſtic convulſions, ariſing from the ambition of Warwic. That nobleman, not contented with the ſtation which he had attained, carried farther his pretenſions, and had gained partiſans, who were diſpoſed to ſecond him in every enterpriſe. The laſt earl of Northumberland died without iſſue; and as ſir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the ſhare which he had in the Yorkſhire inſurrection during the late reign, the title was at preſent extinct, and the eſtate was veſted in the crown. Warwic now procured to himſelf a grant of thoſe ample poſſeſſions, which lay chiefly in the North, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend Paulet lord St. John, the treaſurer, was created firſt, earl of Wiltſhire, then marquis of Wincheſter: Sir William Herbert obtained the title of earl of Pembroke.

His ambition.

But the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increaſe of poſſeſſions and titles, either to himſelf or his partiſans, as ſteps only to farther acquiſitions. Finding that Somerſet, though degraded from his dignity, and even leſſened in the public

m Heylin, p. 109.

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opinion by his spiritless conduct, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been contracted between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass with more certainty the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of the friends and servants of that unhappy nobleman: He sometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger; sometimes provoked him by ill usage. The unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions against Northumberland: At other times he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned: His treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every passionate word which dropped from him: They revealed the schemes which they themselves had first suggested [n]: And Northumberland, thinking that the proper season was now come, began to act in an open manner against him.

In one night the duke of Somerset, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's servants, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested and committed to custody. Next day the dutchess of Somerset, with her favourites Crane and his wife, sir Miles Partridge, sir Michael Stanhope, Bannister, and others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the north, to attack the gens d'armes on a muster-day, to secure the Tower, and to raise a rebellion in London: But, what was the only probable accusation, he asserted, that Somerset had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and his wife 16th Oct.

[n] Heylin, p. 112.

confirmed

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confirmed Palmer's teſtimony with regard to this laſt deſign; and it appears that ſome raſh ſcheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conſpiracy had been formed, or means prepared for its execution. Hammond confeſſed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his houſe at Greenwich.

Trial of Somerſet.

SOMERSET was brought to his trial before the marquis of Wincheſter, created high ſteward. Twenty-ſeven peers compoſed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency ſhould have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerſet was accuſed of high treaſon on account of the projected inſurrections, and of felony in laying a deſign to murder privy-counſellors.

WE have a very imperfect account of all ſtate trials during that age, which is a ſenſible defect in our hiſtory: But it appears that ſome more regularity was obſerved in the management of this proſecution than had uſually been employed in like caſes.

1ſt Decem.

The witneſſes were at leaſt examined by the privy-council; and though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the priſoner (circumſtances required by the ſtrict principles of equity), their depoſitions were given in to the jury. The proof ſeems to have been lame with regard to the treaſonable part of the charge; and Somerſet's defence was ſo ſatisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour: The intention alone of aſſaulting the privy-counſellors was ſupported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The priſoner himſelf confeſſed that he had expreſſed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any reſolution on that head: And when he received ſentence, he aſked pardon of thoſe peers for the deſigns which he had hearkened to againſt them. The people, by whom Somerſet was beloved, hearing the firſt part of his

ſentence,

sentence, by which he was acquitted from treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations: But their satisfaction was suddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony [o]. CHAP. XXXV.

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CARE had been taken by Northumberland's emissaries, to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued series of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness that they entertained to the last moment the fond hopes of his pardon [p]. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime. Somerset, indeed, though many actions of his life were exceptionable, seems in general to have merited a better fate; and the faults which he committed were owing to weakness, not to any bad intention. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmness he was ill fitted to extricate himself from those cabals and violences to which that age was so much addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, sir Michael Stanhope, sir Miles Partridge, and sir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerset's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed: Great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, was on some pretence tried in the star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of 6000 pounds, with the loss of his office.

His execution. 22d Jan.

o Hayward, p. 320, 321, 322. Stowe, p. 606. Hollingshed, p. 1067. p Hayward, p. 324, 325.

CHAP. XXXV. 1552. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to ſhare that honour [q]. Lord Rich, chancellor, was alſo compelled to reſign his office, on the diſcovery of ſome marks of friendſhip which he had ſhown to Somerſet.

22d Jan. A parliament.

THE day after the execution of Somerſet, a ſeſſion of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the eſtabliſhment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authoriſed; and penalties were enacted againſt all thoſe who abſented themſelves from public worſhip [r]. To uſe the maſs had already been prohibited under ſevere penalties; ſo that the reformers, it appears, whatever ſcope they had given to their own private judgment, in diſputing the tenets of the ancient religion, were reſolved not to allow the ſame privilege to others; and the practice, nay the very doctrine of toleration, was at that time equally unknown to all ſects and parties. To diſſent from the religion of the magiſtrate, was univerſally conceived to be as criminal as to queſtion his title, or rebel againſt his authority.

A LAW was enacted againſt uſury; that is, againſt taking any intereſt for money [s]. This act was the remains of ancient ſuperſtition; but being found extremely iniquitous in itſelf, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth. The common rate of intereſt, notwithſtanding the law, was at this time 14 per cent [t].

A BILL was introduced by the miniſtry into the houſe of lords, renewing thoſe rigorous ſtatutes of treaſon which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and though the peers, by their high ſtation, ſtood moſt expoſed to theſe tempeſts of ſtate, yet had they ſo little regard to public ſecurity,

[q] Stowe, p. 608. [r] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1. [s] Ibid. c. 20.
[t] Hayward, p. 318.

or

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or even to their own true intereſt, that they paſſed the bill with only one diſſenting voice [u]. But the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that paſſed into a law, by which it was enacted, That whoever ſhould call the king or any of his heirs, named in the ſtatute of the 35th of the laſt reign, heretic, ſchiſmatic, tyrant, infidel, or uſurper of the crown, ſhould forfeit, for the firſt offence, their goods and chattels, and be impriſoned during pleaſure; for the ſecond, ſhould incur a *præmunire*; for the third, ſhould be attainted for treaſon. But if any ſhould unadviſedly utter ſuch a ſlander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was for the firſt offence to be held a traitor [w]. It may be worthy of notice, that the king and his next heir, the lady Mary, were profeſſedly of different religions; and religions which threw on each other the imputation of hereſy, ſchiſm, idolatry, profaneneſs, blaſphemy, wickedneſs, and all the opprobrious epithets that religious zeal has invented. It was almoſt impoſſible, therefore, for the people, if they ſpoke at all on theſe ſubjects, not to fall into the crime ſo ſeverely puniſhed by the ſtatute; and the jealouſy of the commons for liberty, though it led them to reject the bill of treaſons ſent to them by the lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-ſighted.

The commons annexed to this bill a clauſe which was of more importance than the bill itſelf, that no one ſhould be convicted of any kind of treaſon unleſs the crime were proved by the oaths of two witneſſes confronted with the priſoner. The lords for ſome time ſcrupled to paſs this clauſe, though conformable to the moſt obvious principles of equity. But the members of that houſe truſted for protection to their preſent perſonal intereſt and power, and neg-

[u] Parliamentary Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 258. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 190.
[w] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

CHAP. XXXV. lected the nobleſt and moſt permanent ſecurity, that of laws.

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THERE was another occaſion in which the parliament repoſed an unuſual confidence in the biſhops. They empowered them to proceed againſt ſuch as neglected the Sundays and holidays[y]. But theſe were unguarded conceſſions granted to the church: The general humour of the age rather led men to bereave the eccleſiaſtics of all power, and even to pillage them of their property: Many clergymen about this time were obliged for a ſubſiſtence to turn carpenters or taylors, and ſome kept ale-houſes[z]. The biſhops themſelves were generally reduced to poverty, and held both their revenues and ſpiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure.

TONSTAL, biſhop of Durham, was one of the moſt eminent prelates of that age, ſtill leſs for the dignity of his ſee, than for his own perſonal merit; his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had oppoſed, by his vote and authority, all innovations in religion; but as ſoon as they were enacted, he had always ſubmitted, and had conformed to every theological ſyſtem which had been eſtabliſhed. His known probity had made this compliance be aſcribed, not to an intereſted or time-

[x] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2. [y] Ibid. cap. 3. [z] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 202.

ſerving

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ſerving ſpirit, but to a ſenſe of duty, which led him to think, that all private opinion ought to be ſacrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any ſevere treatment during the adminiſtration of Somerſet; but when Northumberland gained the aſcendant, he was thrown into priſon; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a deſign of ſeizing the revenues of the ſee of Durham, and of acquiring to himſelf a principality in the northern counties, he was reſolved, in order to effect his purpoſe, to deprive Tonſtal of his biſhopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of miſpriſion of treaſon, was introduced into the houſe of peers againſt the prelate; and it paſſed with the oppoſition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and ſincere friendſhip to the biſhop of Durham. But when the bill was ſent down to the commons, they required that witneſſes ſhould be examined, that Tonſtal ſhould be allowed to defend himſelf, and that he ſhould be confronted with his accuſers: And when theſe demands were refuſed, they rejected the bill.

This equity, ſo unuſual in the parliament during that age, was aſcribed by Northumberland and his partiſans, not to any regard for liberty and juſtice, but to the prevalence of Somerſet's faction in a houſe of commons, which, being choſen during the adminiſtration of that nobleman, had been almoſt entirely filled with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they found that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerſet and his accomplices, was alſo rejected by the commons, though it had paſſed the upper houſe. A reſolution was therefore taken to diſſolve the parliament, which had April 15.
ſitten during this whole reign; and ſoon after to ſummon a new one.

 NORTHUM-

CHAP. XXXV. 1552. A new parliament.

Northumberland, in order to insure to himself a house of commons entirely obsequious to his will, ventured on an expedient, which could not have been practised, or even imagined, in an age where there was any idea or comprehension of liberty. He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders, that they were required to choose men of knowledge and experience for their representatives. After this general exhortation, the king continued in these words: "And yet, nevertheless, "our pleasure is, that where our privy-council, or "any of them, shall, in our behalf, recommend "within their jurisdiction men of learning and wisdom; in such cases their directions shall be regarded and followed, as tending to the same end "which we desire; that is, to have this assembly "composed of the persons in our realm the best "fitted to give advice and good counsel[a]." Several letters were sent from the king, recommending members to particular counties, sir Richard Cotton to Hampshire; sir William Fitzwilliams and sir Henry Nevil to Berkshire; sir William Drury and sir Henry Benningfield to Suffolk, &c. But though some counties only received this species of *congé d'elire* from the king; the recommendations from the privy-council and the counsellors, we may fairly presume, would extend to the greater part, if not to the whole of the kingdom.

It is remarkable that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor king, when the royal authority is usually weakest; that it was patiently submitted to; and that it gave so little umbrage as scarcely to be taken notice of by any historian. The painful and laborious collector above cited, who never omits the most trivial matter, is the only

[a] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 394.

person that has thought this memorable letter worthy of being transmitted to posterity. CHAP. XXXV.

THE parliament answered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonstal had in the interval been deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the sentence of lay commissioners appointed to try him, the see of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. The regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; nor is it to be doubted but that nobleman had also purposed to make rich plunder of the revenue, as was then usual with the courtiers whenever a bishopric became vacant. 1553. 1st March.

THE commons gave the ministry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the most sincere of any, the most cordial, and the most difficult to be obtained: They granted a supply of two subsidies and two fifteenths. To render this present the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accusation of Somerset, "for involving the king in wars, wasting his treasure, "engaging him in much debt, embasing the "coin, and giving occasion for a most terrible "rebellion[b]."

THE debts of the crown were at this time considerable. The king had received from France 400,000 crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profit from the sale of some chantry lands; the churches had been spoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which by a decree of council, without any pretence of law or equity, had been converted to the king's use[c]: Yet such had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about 300,000 pounds[d]; and great dilapidations were at

[b] 7 Edw. VI. cap. 12. [c] Heylin, p. 95. 132.
[d] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 344.

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the same time made of the royal demesnes. The young prince showed, among other virtues, a disposition to frugality, which, had he lived, would soon have retrieved these losses: But as his health was declining very fast, the present emptiness of the exchequer was a sensible obstacle to the execution of those projects which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the prospect of Edward's approaching end.

Succession changed.

THAT nobleman represented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of any impression, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament: And though Henry by his will had restored them to a place in the succession, the nation would never submit to see the throne of England filled by a bastard: That they were the king's sisters by the half-blood only; and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and successors: That the queen of Scots stood excluded by the late king's will; and being an alien, had lost by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that as she was betrothed to the dauphin, she would by her succession render England, as she had already done Scotland, a province to France: That the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: That, fortunately for England, the same order of succession which justice required, was also the most conformable to public interest; and there was not on any side any just ground for doubt or deliberation: That when these three princesses were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk: That the next heir

of

of the marchioneſs was the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the moſt amiable character, accompliſhed by the beſt education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown: And that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no juſt reaſon to pretend, the king was poſſeſſed of the ſame power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. Theſe reaſonings made impreſſion on the young prince; and above all, his zealous attachment to the proteſtant religion made him apprehend the conſequences, if ſo bigotted a catholic as his ſiſter Mary ſhould ſucceed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no ſuch objection, means were found to perſuade him that he could not exclude the one ſiſter on account of illegitimacy, without giving alſo an excluſion to the other.

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NORTHUMBERLAND, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his ſcheme. Two ſons of the duke of Suffolk by a ſecond venter having died this ſeaſon of the ſweating ſickneſs, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to beſtow it on the marquis of Dorſet. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred upon him, he perſuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the dutcheſs to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth ſon, the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himſelf by farther alliances, he negociated a marriage between the lady Catherine Gray, ſecond daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke. He alſo married his own daughter to lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Huntingdon[e]. Theſe marriages were ſolemniſed with great pomp and feſtivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expreſſing

[e] Heylin, p. 199. Stowe, p. 609.

their

CHAP. XXXV. 1553. their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

EDWARD had been seized in the foregoing year, first with the measles, then with the small-pox; but having perfectly recovered from both these distempers, the nation entertained hopes that they would only serve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progress through some parts of the kingdom. It was suspected that he had there overheated himself in exercise: He was seized with a cough, which proved obstinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: Several fatal symptoms of a consumption appeared; and though it was hoped, that as the season advanced his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men saw with great concern his bloom and vigour insensibly decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Edward had every moment declined in health from the time that lord Robert Dudley had been put about him in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber.

The king's sickness,

THE languishing state of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king: He himself attended him with the greatest assiduity: He pretended the most anxious concern for his health and welfare: And by all these artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, sir John Baker and sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and solicitor-general, were summoned to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated to obey; and desired time to consider of it.

The

The more they reflected the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of succession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council. They urged, that such a patent as was intended would be entirely invalid; that it would subject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving sanction to the new settlement, and freeing its partisans from danger, was to summon a parliament, and to obtain the consent of that assembly. The king said, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purposed to have his settlement ratified; but in the mean time he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges that their refusal would subject all of them to the pains of treason. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and said that he would in his shirt fight any man in so just a cause as that of lady Jane's succession. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and those which arose from the violence of present power and authority[f].

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The arguments were canvassed in several different meetings between the council and the judges; and no solution could be found of the difficulties. At last Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors. He desired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a

[f] Fuller, book viii. p. 2.

patent

CHAP. XXXV. 1553. patent for the new ſettlement of the crown; and that a pardon ſhould immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn, and brought to the biſhop of Ely chancellor, in order to have the great ſeal affixed to it, this prelate required that all the judges ſhould previouſly ſign it. Goſnald at firſt refuſed; and it was with much difficulty that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the conſtancy of ſir James Hales, who, though a zealous proteſtant, preferred juſtice on this occaſion to the prejudices of his party, could not be ſhaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater ſecurity, that all the privy counſellors ſhould ſet their hands to the patent: The intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were ſo prevalent, that the counſellors complied with this demand. 21ſt June. Cranmer alone heſitated during ſome time, but at laſt yielded to the earneſt and pathetic entreaties of the king[g]. Cecil, at that time ſecretary of ſtate, pretended afterwards that he only ſigned as witneſs to the king's ſubſcription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, were ſet aſide; and the crown was ſettled on the heirs of the dutcheſs of Suffolk: For the dutcheſs herſelf was content to give place to her daughters.

After this ſettlement was made, with ſo many inauſpicious circumſtances, Edward viſibly declined every day; and ſmall hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worſe, his phyſicians were diſmiſſed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to reſtore him to his former ſtate of health. After the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymp-

[g] Cran. Mem. p. 295.

toms

toms increaſed to the moſt violent degree: He felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled, his colour became livid; and many other ſymptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign.

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1553. and death. 6th July.

ALL the Engliſh hiſtorians dwell with pleaſure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promiſes of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He poſſeſſed mildneſs of diſpoſition, application to ſtudy and buſineſs, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and juſtice. He ſeems only to have contracted, from his education, and from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepoſſeſſion in matters of religion, which made him incline ſomewhat to bigotry and perſecution: But as the bigotry of proteſtants, leſs governed by prieſts, lies under more reſtraints than that of catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the leſs to be apprehended if a longer life had been granted to young Edward.

CHAP. XXXVI.

MARY.

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen——Deserted by the people——The queen proclaimed and acknowledged ——Northumberland executed——Catholic religion restored—— A parliament —— Deliberations with regard to the queen's marriage——Queen's marriage with Philip——Wyat's insurrection—— Suppressed——Execution of lady Jane Gray—— A parliament——Philip's arrival in England.

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THE title of the princess Mary, after the demise of her brother, was not exposed to any considerable difficulty; and the objections started by the lady Jane's partisans were new and unheard-of by the nation. Though all the protestants, and even many of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet, as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognized by the nation, and seemingly founded on those principles of law and religion which then prevailed, few imagined that their issue ought on that account to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that purpose had indeed been extorted from parliament by the usual violence and caprice of Henry; but as that monarch had afterwards been induced to restore his daughter to the right of succession, her title was now become as legal and parliamentary as it

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it was ever esteemed just and natural. The public had long been familiarised to these sentiments: During all the reign of Edward, the princess was regarded as his lawful successor: And though the protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred universally entertained against the Dudleys[g], who men foresaw would, under the name of Jane, be the real sovereigns, was more than sufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This last attempt to violate the order of succession, had displayed Northumberland's ambition and injustice in a full light; and when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, iniquity, and cruelty by which that project had been conducted; that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princesses, had been sacrificed to it; they were moved by indignation to exert themselves in opposition to such criminal enterprises. The general veneration also paid to the memory of Henry VIII. prompted the nation to defend the rights of his posterity; and the miseries of the ancient civil wars were not so entirely forgotten, that men were willing, by a departure from the lawful heir, to incur the danger of like bloodshed and confusion.

Northumberland, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king; and in order to bring the two princesses into his power, he had had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, desiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm state of health required the assistance of their counsel, and the consolation of their company[h]. Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princesses fall into the snare, kept the king's death still secret; and the lady Mary

[g] Sleidan, lib. 25. [h] Heylin, p. 154.

had

CHAP. XXXVI. 1553. had already reached Hoddesden, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel sent her private intelligence both of her brother's death and of the conspiracy formed against her[i]: She immediately made haste to retire; and she arrived, by quick journies, first at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk; where she purposed to embark and escape to Flanders, in case she should find it impossible to defend her right of succession. She wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county in England; commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person. And she dispatched a message to the council; by which she notified to them that her brother's death was no longer a secret to her, promised them pardon for past offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London[k].

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen.

NORTHUMBERLAND found that farther dissimulation was fruitless: He went to Sion-house[l], accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who resided there, with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she received intelligence of them[m]. She was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, accomplished parts; and being of an equal age with the late king, she had received all her education with him, and seemed even to possess greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, besides modern tongues; had passed most of her time in an application to learning; and expressed a great indifference for other occupations and amuse-

[i] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 233. [k] Fox, vol. iii. p. 14. [l] Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 10. [m] Godwin in Kennet, p. 329. Heylin, p. 149. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 234.

ments

ments usual with her sex and station. Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and on his admiring the singularity of her choice, she told him that she received more pleasure from that author than the others could reap from all their sport and gaiety [n]. Her heart, full of this passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deserving of her affections, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the intelligence of her elevation to the throne was nowise agreeable to her. She even refused to accept of the present; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the consequences attending an enterprise so dangerous, not to say so criminal; and desired to remain in the private station in which she was born. Overcome at last by the entreaties rather than the reasons of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her husband, she submitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment. It was then usual for the kings of England, after their accession, to pass the first days in the Tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new sovereign. All the counsellors were obliged to attend her to that fortress; and by this means became in reality prisoners in the hands of Northumberland; whose will they were necessitated to obey. Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued: The people heard the proclamation with silence and concern: Some even expressed their scorn and contempt; and one Pot, a vintner's apprentice, was severely punished for this offence.

[n] Ascham's works, p. 222, 223.

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The protestant teachers themselves, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitless; and Ridley, bishop of London, who preached a sermon to that purpose, wrought no effect upon his audience.

The people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their attendance on Mary. As they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidst their tenders of duty, expressing apprehensions for their religion; but when she assured them that she never meant to change the laws of Edward, they inlisted themselves in her cause with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcement. The earls of Bath and Sussex, the eldest sons of lord Wharton and lord Mordaunt, sir William Drury, sir Henry Benningfield, sir Henry Jernegan, persons whose interest lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers[o]. Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having received a commission from the council to make levies for the lady Jane in Buckinghamshire, carried over his troops, which amounted to four thousand men, and joined Mary. Even a fleet which had been sent by Northumberland to lie off the coast of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a storm, was engaged to declare for that princess.

Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, saw at last the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himself. He had levied forces which were assembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counsellors, whose compliance he knew had been entirely the result of fear or artifice, he was resolved to keep near the person of the lady Jane, and send Suffolk to command the army. But the counsellors who wished to remove him[p], working on the filial tenderness

[o] Heylin, p. 160. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 237. [p] Godwin, p. 330. Heylin, p. 159. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 239. Fox, vol. iii. p. 15.

dernefs of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be expofed; and reprefented that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly fuppreffing a rebellion in thofe parts, was more proper to command in that enterprife. The duke himfelf, who knew the flender capacity of Suffolk, began to think that none but himfelf was able to encounter the prefent danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counfellors attended on him at his departure with the higheft proteftations of attachment, and none more than Arundel his mortal enemy [q]. As he went along, he remarked the difaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal iffue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," faid he to lord Gray, "come out to look at us, but I find not one who "cries, *God fpeed you* [r]!"

Lady Jane deferted by the people.

THE duke had no fooner reached St Edmund's-bury, than he found his army, which did not exceed fix thoufand men, too weak to encounter the queen's [s], which amounted to double the number. He wrote to the council, defiring them to fend him a reinforcement; and the counfellors immediately laid hold of the opportunity to free themfelves from confinement. They left the Tower, as if they meant to execute Northumberland's commands; but being affembled in Baynard's caftle, a houfe belonging to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning the method of fhaking off his ufurped tyranny. Arundel began the conference, by reprefenting the injuftice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterprife which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he affirmed, that the only method of making atonement for their paft offences, was by a fpeedy return to the duty

q Heylin, p. 161. Baker, p. 315. Hollingfhed, p. 1086.
r Speed, p. 816. s Godwin, p. 331.

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which they owed to their lawful ſovereign[t]. This motion was ſeconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his ſword, ſwore he was ready to fight any man that expreſſed himſelf of a contrary ſentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately ſent for, who diſcovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expreſſed their approbation by ſhouts of applauſe. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding reſiſtance fruitleſs, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more ſatisfaction than ſhe felt when the royalty was tendered to her[u]: And the meſſengers who were ſent to Northumberland with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had deſpaired of ſucceſs, was deſerted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of joy and ſatisfaction[w]. The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave ſenſible expreſſions of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thouſand horſe, which that princeſs had levied in order to ſupport their joint title againſt the uſurper[x].

The queen proclaimed and acknowledged.

THE queen gave orders for taking into cuſtody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel that arreſted him, and abjectly begged his life[y]. At the ſame time were committed the earl of Warwic, his eldeſt ſon, lord Ambroſe and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger ſons, ſir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, ſir Thomas Palmer, and ſir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane

[t] Godwin, p. 331, 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii.
[u] Godwin, p. 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2. [w] Stowe, p. 612. [x] Burnet, vol ii. p. 240. Heylin, p. 19. Stowe, p. 613. [y] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 239. Stowe, p. 612. Baker, p. 315. Hollingſhed, p. 1088.

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Grey, and lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk himself recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence in a great measure to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only desired permission to ask two questions of the peers appointed to sit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? and whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself could sit as his judges? Being told that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons not lying under any sentence of attainder were still innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury[z]; he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution he made profession of the catholic religion, and told the people that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors: Whether that such were his real sentiments, which he had formerly disguised from interest and ambition, or that he hoped by this declaration to render the queen more favourable to his family[a]. Sir Thomas Palmer and sir John Gates suffered with him; and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprise against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any present intention of

22 Aug. Northumberland executed.

z Burnet, vol. ii. p. 243. Heylin, p. 18. Baker, p. 316. Hollingshed, p. 1089. Stowe, p. 614.

a Heylin, p. 19. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 243.

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putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded sufficiently in their favour.

WHEN Mary first arrived in the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner during all the last reign; Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been subjected to the same punishment ever since his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonstal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the catholic cause, appeared before her and implored her clemency and protection[b]. They were all of them restored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithstanding that it had passed in parliament, was represented as null and invalid; because, among other informalities, no special matter had been alleged against him, except wearing a coat of arms which he and his ancestors without giving any offence had always made use of, in the face of the court and of the whole nation. Courtney soon after received the title of earl of Devonshire; and though educated in such close confinement, that he was altogether unacquainted with the world, he soon acquired all the accomplishments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a considerable figure during the few years which he lived after he recovered his liberty[c]. Besides performing all those popular acts, which, though they only affected individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with some exceptions, and by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the last parliament[d].

THE joy arising from the succession of the lawful heir, and from the gracious demeanour of the sove-

[b] Heylin, p. 20. Stowe, p. 613. Hollingshed, p. 1088.
[c] Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 246, 247.
[d] Stowe, p. 616.

reign,

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reign, hindered not the people from being agitated with great anxiety concerning the ſtate of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the proteſtant communion, the apprehenſions entertained concerning the principles and prejudices of the new queen were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be ſomewhat connected with the papal authority; and that princeſs, being educated with her mother, had imbibed the ſtrongeſt attachment to the catholic communion, and the higheſt averſion to thoſe new tenets, whence ſhe believed all the misfortunes of her family had originally ſprung. The diſcouragements which ſhe lay under from her father, though at laſt they brought her to comply with his will, tended ſtill more to increaſe her diſguſt to the reformers; and the vexations which the protector and the council gave her during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her farther in her prejudices. Naturally of a ſour and obſtinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, ſhe poſſeſſed all the qualities fitted to compoſe a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation therefore had great reaſon to dread not only the abolition, but the perſecution of the eſtabliſhed religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long ere ſhe diſcovered her intentions.

Catholic religion reſtored.

Gardiner, Bonner, Tonſtal, Day, Heath, and Veſey, were reinſtated in their ſees, either by a direct act of power, or what is nearly the ſame, by the ſentence of commiſſioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the biſhopric of Durham had been diſſolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters patent, and replaced Tonſtal in his regalities as well as his revenue. On pretence of diſcouraging controverſy,

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she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence; and it was easy to foresee that none but the catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Glocester, were thrown into prison; whither old Latimer also was sent soon after. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. Judge Hales, who had discovered such constancy in defending the queen's title, lost all his merit by an opposition to those illegal practices; and being committed to custody, was treated with such severity, that he fell into frenzy, and killed himself. The men of Suffolk were browbeaten; because they presumed to plead the promise which the queen, when they inlisted themselves in her service, had given them of maintaining the reformed religion: One in particular was set in the pillory, because he had been too peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which she had taken on that occasion. And though the queen still promised in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate those who differed from her, men foresaw that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble security when set in opposition to religious prejudices.

The merits of Cranmer towards the queen during the reign of Henry had been considerable; and he had successfully employed his good offices in mitigating the severe prejudices which that monarch had entertained against her. But the active part which he had borne in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in soliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made suf-

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ficient atonement by his sufferings in defence of the catholic cause. The primate, therefore, had reason to expect little favour during the present reign; but it was by his own indiscreet zeal that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution. A report being spread, that Cranmer, in order to pay court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, the archbishop, to wipe off this aspersion, published a manifesto in his own defence. Among other expressions, he there said, that as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion: That this infernal spirit now endeavoured to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effect his purpose, had falsely made use of Cranmer's name and authority: And that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or in the practice of the primitive church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is besides replete with many horrid blasphemies[f]. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him; and though his guilt was shared with the whole privy council, and was even less than that of the greater part of them, this sentence, however severe, must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reserved for a more cruel punishment.

Peter Martyr, seeing a persecution gathering against the reformers, desired leave to withdraw[g];

[f] Fox, vol. iii. p. 94. Heylin, p. 25. Godwin, p. 336. Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. N° 8. Cranm. Mem. p. 305. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 3.

[g] Heylin, p. 26. Godwin, p. 336. Cranm. Mem. p. 317.

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and while some zealous catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner both pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and generously furnished him with supplies for his journey: But as bigotted zeal still increased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill[h]. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge[i]. John à Lasco was first silenced, then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign protestants followed him; and the nation thereby lost many useful hands for arts and manufactures. Several English protestants also took shelter in foreign parts; and every thing bore a dismal aspect for the reformation.

5th Oct. A parliament.

DURING this revolution of the court, no protection was expected by protestants from the parliament, which was summoned to assemble. A zealous reformer[k] pretends, that great violence and iniquity were used in the elections; but besides that the authority of this writer is inconsiderable, that practice, as the necessities of government seldom required it, had not hitherto been often employed in England. There still remained such numbers devoted by opinion or affection to many principles of the ancient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give such candidates the preference in most elections; and all those who hesitated to comply with the court religion, rather declined taking a seat, which while it rendered them obnoxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It soon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the commons

[h] Heylin, p. 26. [i] Saunders de Schism. Anglic.

[k] Beale. But Fox, who lived at the time, and is very minute in his narratives, says nothing of the matter. See vol. iii. p. 16.

would be obſequious to Mary's deſigns; and as the peers were moſtly attached to the court, from intereſt or expectations, little oppoſition was expected from that quarter.

In opening the parliament, the court ſhowed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two houſes a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though aboliſhed by act of parliament[l]. Taylor, biſhop of Lincoln, having refuſed to kneel at this ſervice, was ſeverely handled, and was violently thruſt out of the houſe[m]. The queen, however, ſtill retained the title of ſupreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to reſtore religion to the ſame condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuſes of popery, which were the moſt grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

The firſt bill paſſed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and aboliſhed every ſpecies of treaſon not contained in the ſtatute of Edward III. and every ſpecies of felony that did not ſubſiſt before the firſt of Henry VIII[n]. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer[o], whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the ſtatutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote[p]. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reverſed; and this act of juſtice was more rea-

[l] Fox, vol. iii. p. 19. [m] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 252.

[n] Mariæ, ſeſſ. i. c. 1. By this repeal, though it was in general popular, the clauſe of 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 11. was loſt, which required the confronting of two witneſſes, in order to prove any treaſon.

[o] Mariæ, ſeſſ. ii. c. 1. [p] 1 Mariæ, ſeſſ. ii. c. 1.

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ſonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid without farther authority. Many clauſes of the riot act paſſed in the late reign were revived: A ſtep which eluded in a great meaſure the popular ſtatute enacted at the firſt meeting of parliament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the compliance of the two houſes with the queen's inclinations, they had ſtill a reſerve in certain articles; and her choice of a huſband in particular was of ſuch importance to natural intereſt, that they were determined not to ſubmit tamely in that reſpect to her will and pleaſure. There were three marriages[q], concerning which it was ſuppoſed that Mary had deliberated after her acceſſion. The firſt perſon propoſed to her was Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, who being an Engliſhman nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging perſon and addreſs, he had viſibly gained on the queen's affections[r], and hints were dropped him of her favourable diſpoſitions towards him[s]. But that nobleman neglected theſe overtures; and ſeemed rather to attach himſelf to the lady Elizabeth, whoſe youth and agreeable converſation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her ſiſter. This choice occaſioned a great coldneſs in Mary towards Devonſhire; and made her break out in a declared animoſity againſt Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had ſunk deep into the malignant heart of the queen; and after the declaration made by parliament in favour of Catherine's marriage, ſhe wanted not a pretence for repreſenting the birth of her ſiſter as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princeſs had made ſome difficulty in diſ-

[q] Thuan, lib. ii. c. 3. [r] Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 147. 163. 214, 215. vol. iii. p. 27. [s] Godwin, p. 339.

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guising her sentiments, violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance [t]. But when the queen found that Elizabeth had obstructed her views in a point which perhaps touched her still more nearly, her resentment, excited by pride, no longer knew any bounds; and the princess was visibly exposed to the greatest danger [u].

CARDINAL Pole, who had never taken priests orders, was another party proposed to the queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the death of Paul III. [w]; the queen's affection for the countess of Salisbury, his mother, who had once been her governess; the violent animosity to which he had been exposed on account of his attachment to the Romish communion; all these considerations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of study and retirement, he was represented to her as unqualified for the bustle of a court and the hurry of business [x]. The queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts of that alliance: But as she entertained a great regard for Pole's wisdom and virtue, she still intended to reap the benefit of his counsel in the administration of her government. She secretly entered into a negociation with Commendone, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Brussels; she sent assurances to the pope, then Julius III. of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see; and she desired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office [y].

t Dep. de Noailles, vol. ii. passim. u Heylin, p. 31. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 255. w Father Paul, book iii. x Heylin, p. 31. y Burnet, vol. ii. p. 258.

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These two marriages being rejected, the queen cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which during her own distresses had always afforded her countenance and protection. Charles V. who a few years before was almost absolute master of Germany, had exercised his power in such an arbitrary manner, that he gave extreme disgust to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their liberties from the encroachments of that monarch[z]. Religion had served him as a pretence for his usurpations; and from the same principle he met with that opposition which overthrew his grandeur and dashed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Hesse, who, by his advice and on his assurances, had put himself into the emperor's hands, should be unjustly detained a prisoner, formed a secret conspiracy among the protestant princes; and covering his intentions with the most artful disguises, he suddenly marched his forces against Charles, and narrowly missed becoming master of his person. The protestants flew to arms in every quarter; and their insurrection, aided by an invasion from France, reduced the emperor to such difficulties that he was obliged to submit to terms of peace, which insured the independency of Germany. To retrieve his honour he made an attack on France; and laying siege to Metz with an army of a hundred thousand men, he conducted the enterprise in person, and seemed determined at all hazards to succeed in an undertaking which had fixed the attention of Europe. But the duke of Guise, who defended Metz, with a garrison composed of the bravest nobility of France, exerted such vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the siege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to

[z] Thuanus, lib. iv. c. 17.

persevere

perſevere any longer. He retired with the remains of his army into the Low Countries, much dejected with that reverſe of fortune which in his declining years had ſo fatally overtaken him. CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

No ſooner did Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the acceſſion of his kinſwoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the ſcheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped by this incident to balance all the loſſes which he had ſuſtained in Germany. His ſon Philip was a widower; and though he was only twenty-ſeven years of age, eleven years younger than the queen, this objection it was thought would be overlooked, and there was no reaſon to deſpair of her ſtill having a numerous iſſue. The emperor, therefore, immediately ſent over an agent to ſignify his intentions to Mary, who, pleaſed with the ſupport of ſo powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herſelf more cloſely with her mother's family, to which ſhe was ever ſtrongly attached, readily embraced the propoſal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match: And Gardiner, who was become prime miniſter, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, ſeconded the project of the Spaniſh alliance. At the ſame time he repreſented both to her and the emperor, the neceſſity of ſtopping all farther innovations in religion, till the completion of the marriage. He obſerved that the parliament amidſt all their compliances had diſcovered evident ſymptoms of jealouſy, and ſeemed at preſent determined to grant no farther conceſſions in favour of the catholic religion: That though they might make a ſacrifice to their ſovereign of ſome ſpeculative principles which they did not well comprehend, or of ſome rites which ſeemed not of any great moment, they had imbibed ſuch ſtrong prejudices againſt the pretended uſurpations and exactions of the court of Rome,

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Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to submit to its authority: That the danger of resuming the abbey lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepossessions which were but too general among the people, against the doctrine and worship of the catholic church: That much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point were urged at the same time with farther changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and insurrection: That the marriage being once completed, would give authority to the queen's measures, and enable her afterwards to forward the pious work in which she was engaged: And that it was even necessary previously to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the English, and such as would seem to ensure to them their independency, and the entire possession of their ancient laws and privileges[z].

THE emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, assented to all these reasons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary, by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more sincere in his religious opinions, and less guided by the maxims of human policy, after having sent contrary advice to the queen, had set out on his journey to England, where he was to exercise his legantine commission; he thought proper to stop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's consent for this detention. The negociation for the marriage meanwhile proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions of espousing Philip became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the

[z] Burnet, vol. ii. p 261.

concessions which they had already made, were alarmed to hear that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance; and they sent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure. To prevent farther applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

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A CONVOCATION had been summoned at the same time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very frankly made by the Romanists, to dispute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as transubstantiation was the article which of all others they deemed the clearest, and founded on the most irresistible arguments, they chose to try their strength by defending it. The protestants pushed the dispute as far as the clamour and noise of their antagonists would permit; and they fondly imagined that they had obtained some advantage, when in the course of the debate they obliged the catholics to avow that, according to their doctrine, Christ had in his last supper held himself in his hand, and had swallowed and eaten himself[a]. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: The Romanists maintained, that *their* champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adversaries were blind and obstinate heretics; that nothing but the most extreme depravity of heart could induce men to contest such self-evident principles; and that the severest punishments were due to their perverse wickedness. So pleased were they with their superiority in this favourite point, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford; and to show that they feared no force of learning or abilities, where reason was so evidently on their side, they sent thither Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether these renowned controversialists could find any appearance of argument to defend their baffled

[a] Collier, vol. ii. p. 356. Fox, vol. iii. p. 22.

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principles[b]. The iſſue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference held at the ſame place during the reign of Edward.

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After the parliament and convocation were diſmiſſed, the new laws with regard to religion, though they had been anticipated in moſt places by the zeal of the catholics, countenanced by government, were ſtill more openly put in execution: The maſs was every where re-eſtabliſhed; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any ſpiritual office. It has been aſſerted by ſome writers, that three fourths of the clergy were at this time deprived of their livings; though other hiſtorians, more accurate[c], have eſtimated the number of ſufferers to be far ſhort of this proportion. A viſitation was appointed, in order to reſtore more perfectly the maſs and the ancient rites. Among other articles, the commiſſioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of ſupremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice[d]. It is to be obſerved, that this oath had been eſtabliſhed by the laws of Henry VIII. which were ſtill in force.

Queen's marriage with Philip.

This violent and ſudden change of religion inſpired the proteſtants with great diſcontent; and even affected indifferent ſpectators with concern, by the hardſhips to which ſo many individuals were on that account expoſed. But the Spaniſh match was a point of more general concern, and diffuſed univerſal apprehenſions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as poſſible for the intereſt and ſecurity, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, that though Philip ſhould have the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner ſhould

[b] Mem. Cranm. p. 354. Heylin, p. 50. [c] Harmer, p. 138. [d] Collier, vol. ii. p. 364. Fox, vol. iii. p. 38. Heylin, p. 35. Sleidan, lib. 25.

be

be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children without the conſent of the nobility; that ſixty thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled as her jointure; that the male iſſue of this marriage ſhould inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his former marriage, ſhould die and his line be extinct, the queen's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip[e]. Such was the treaty of marriage ſigned by count Egmont, and three other ambaſſadors ſent over to England by the emperor[f]. CHAP. XXXVI. 1554. 15th Jan.

These articles, when publiſhed, gave no ſatisfaction to the nation: It was univerſally ſaid that the emperor, in order to get poſſeſſion of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded that he had no ſerious intention of obſerving them: That the uſual fraud and ambition of that monarch might aſſure the nation of ſuch a conduct; and his ſon Philip, while he inherited theſe vices from his father, added to them tyranny, ſullenneſs, pride, and barbarity, more dangerous vices of his own: That England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which uſually exerciſed the moſt violent authority over all her dependent dominions: That the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples, groaned under the burthen of Spaniſh tyranny, and throughout all the new conqueſts in America there had been diſplayed ſcenes of unrelenting cruelty hitherto unknown in the hiſtory of mankind: That the inquiſition was a tribunal invented by that ty-

e Rymer, xv. p. 377.
f Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 299.

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rannical nation; and would infallibly, with all their other laws and inſtitutions, be introduced into England: And that the divided ſentiments of the people with regard to religion would ſubject multitudes to this iniquitous tribunal, and would reduce the whole nation to the moſt abject ſervitude[g].

THESE complaints being diffuſed every where, prepared the people for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them, the conſequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority. But the king of France, though engaged in hoſtilities with the emperor, refuſed to concur in any propoſal for an inſurrection, leſt he ſhould afford Mary a pretence for declaring war againſt him[h]. And the more prudent part of the nobility thought that as the evils of the Spaniſh alliance were only dreaded at a diſtance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some perſons, however, more turbulent than the reſt, believed that it would be ſafer to prevent than to redreſs grievances; and they formed a conſpiracy to riſe in arms, and declare againſt the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat purpoſed to raiſe Kent, ſir Peter Carew, Devonſhire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raiſing the midland counties[i]. Carew's impatience or apprehenſions engaged him to break the concert, and to riſe in arms before the day appointed: He was ſoon ſuppreſſed by the earl of Bedford, and conſtrained to fly into France. On this intelligence Suffolk, dreading an arreſt, ſuddenly left the town, with his brothers lord Thomas and lord Leonard Gray; and endeavoured to raiſe the people in the counties of Warwick and Leiceſter, where his intereſt lay; but he was ſo

Wiat's inſurrection.

g Heylin, p. 32. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 268. Godwin, p. 339.
h Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 249. vol. iii. p. 17. 58.
i Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 340.

closely

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closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of 300 horse, that he was obliged to disperse his followers, and being discovered in his concealment, he was carried prisoner to London[k]. Wiat was at first more successful in his attempt; and having published a declaration at Maidstone in Kent, against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his standard. The duke of Norfolk, with sir Henry Jernegan, was sent against him, at the head of the guards and some other troops, reinforced with 500 Londoners commanded by Bret: And he came within sight of the rebels at Rochester, where they had fixed their head-quarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to desert from them; but having secretly gained Bret, these two malcontents so wrought on the Londoners, that the whole body deserted to Wiat, and declared that they would not contribute to enslave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took shelter in the city[l].

After this proof of the dispositions of the people, especially of the Londoners, who were mostly protestants, Wiat was encouraged to proceed: He led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the queen that she should put the Tower into his hands, should deliver four counsellors as hostages, and, in order to ensure the liberty of the nation, should immediately marry an Englishman. Finding that the bridge was secured against him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with 4000 men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partisans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had im-

k Fox, vol. iii. p. 30. l Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 341. Stowe, p. 619. Baker, p. 318. Hollingshed, p. 1094.

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prudently wasted so much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingston, that the critical season, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost: Though he entered Westminster without resistance, his followers, finding that no person of note joined him, insensibly fell off, and he was at last seized near Temple-bar by sir Maurice Berkeley[m]. Four hundred persons are said to have suffered for this rebellion[n]: Four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees received a pardon and were dismissed. Wiat was condemned and executed: As it had been reported that, on his examination, he had accused the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire as accomplices, he took care on the scaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any share in his rebellion.

6th Feb.

Insurrections suppressed.

The lady Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated with great harshness by her sister; and many studied instances of discouragement and disrespect had been practised against her. She was ordered to take place at court after the countess of Lenox and the dutchess of Suffolk, as if she were not legitimate[o]: Her friends were discountenanced on every occasion: And while her virtues, which were now become eminent, drew to her the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation[p], the malevolence of the queen still discovered itself every day by fresh symptoms, and obliged the princess to retire into the country. Mary seized the opportunity of this rebellion; and hoping to involve her sister in some appearance of guilt, sent for her under a strong guard, committed her to the Tower, and ordered her to be strictly examined by the council. But the public declaration made

[m] Fox, vol. iii. p. 31. Heylin, p. 34. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 270. Stowe, p. 621. [n] Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 124.
[o] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 273. 288. [p] Ibid. p. 273.

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by Wiat rendered it impracticable to employ against her any false evidence which might have offered; and the princess made so good a defence, that the queen found herself under a necessity of releasing her[q]. In order to send her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the duke of Savoy; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to custody under a strong guard at Wodestoke[r]. The earl of Devonshire, though equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringay castle.

But this rebellion proved still more fatal to the lady Jane Gray, as well as to her husband: The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and though the rebels and malcontents seemed chiefly to rest their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, the queen, incapable of generosity or clemency, determined to remove every person from whom the least danger could be apprehended. Warning was given the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which she had been exposed, rendered nowise unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to send divines, who harassed her with perpetual disputation; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that she would be persuaded during that time to pay, by a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had presence of mind, in those melancholy circumstances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in use, but also to write a letter to her sister[s] in the Greek language; in which, besides sending her a copy of the scriptures in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain,

[q] Godwin, p. 343. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 273. Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. 105. Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 85. [r] Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 226. [s] Fox, vol. iii. p. 35. Heylin, p. 166.

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in every fortune, a like steady perseverance. On the day of her execution, her husband, lord Guilford, desired permission to see her; but she refused her consent, and informed him by a message, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that constancy which their approaching end required of them: Their separation, she said, would be only for a moment; and they would soon rejoin each other in a scene where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have access to them, or disturb their eternal felicity [t].

Execution of lady Jane Gray.

It had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together on the same scaffold at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that she should be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She saw her husband led to execution; and having given him from the window some token of her remembrance, she waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate. She even saw his headless body carried back in a cart; and found herself more confirmed by the reports which she heard of the constancy of his end, than shaken by so tender and melancholy a spectacle. Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: She gave him her table-book, on which she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in English [u]. The purport of them was, that human justice was against his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her

[t] Heylin, p. 167. Baker, p. 319. [u] Heylin, p. 167.

youth

youth at leaſt, and her imprudence were worthy of excuſe; and that God and poſterity, ſhe truſted, would ſhow her favour. On the ſcaffold ſhe made a ſpeech to the by-ſtanders; in which the mildneſs of her diſpoſition led her to take the blame wholly on herſelf, without uttering one complaint againſt the ſeverity with which ſhe had been treated. She ſaid that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with ſufficient conſtancy: That ſhe had leſs erred through ambition than through reverence to her parents, whom ſhe had been taught to reſpect and obey: That ſhe willingly received death as the only ſatiſfaction which ſhe could now make to the injured ſtate; and though her infringement of the laws had been conſtrained, ſhe would ſhow, by her voluntary ſubmiſſion to their ſentence, that ſhe was deſirous to atone for that diſobedience into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: That ſhe had juſtly deſerved this puniſhment for being made the inſtrument, though the unwilling inſtrument, of the ambition of others: And that the ſtory of her life, ſhe hoped, might at leaſt be uſeful, by proving that innocence excuſes not great miſdeeds, if they tend anywiſe to the deſtruction of the commonwealth. After uttering theſe words, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women; and with a ſteady ſerene countenance ſubmitted herſelf to the executioner [w].

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THE duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed ſoon after; and would have met with more compaſſion, had not his temerity been the cauſe of his daughter's untimely end. Lord Thomas Gray loſt his life for the ſame crime. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall; but there appearing no ſatisfactory evidence againſt him, he was able, by making an admirable defence, to obtain a verdict of the jury in his favour. The queen was

[w] Heylin, p. 167. Fox, vol. iii. p. 36, 37. Hollingſhed, p. 1099.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1554. so enraged at the disappointment, that instead of releasing him as the law required, she re-committed him to the Tower, and kept him in close confinement during some time. But her resentment stopped not here: The jury, being summoned before the council, were all sent to prison, and afterwards fined, some of them a thousand pounds, others two thousand a-piece[x]. This violence proved fatal to several; among others to Sir John Throgmorton, brother to sir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than had formerly been rejected. The queen filled the Tower and all the prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her suspicion. And finding that she was universally hated, she determined to disable the people from resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize their arms, and lay them up in forts and castles[y].

A parliament. 5th April.

THOUGH the government laboured under so general an odium, the queen's authority had received such an increase from the suppression of Wiat's rebellion, that the ministry hoped to find a compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The emperor also, in order to facilitate the same end, had borrowed no less a sum than 400,000 crowns, which he had sent over to England, to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members: A pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any instance in England. And not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen, notwithstanding her bigotry, resumed her title of supreme head of the church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened

[x] Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Stowe, p. 624. Baker, p. 320. Hollingshed, p. 1104. 1121. Strype, vol. iii. p. 120. Dep. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 173. [y] Dep. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 98.

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the feffion by a fpeech; in which he afferted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of chufing a hufband for herfelf; obferved how proper a ufe fhe had made of that right, by giving the preference to an old ally, defcended from the houfe of Burgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry VIII.'s pofterity, of whom there now remained none but the queen and the lady Elizabeth. He added, that in order to obviate the inconveniences which might arife from different pretenders, it was neceffary to inveft the queen, by law, with a power of difpofing of the crown, and of appointing her fucceffor: A power, he faid, which was not to be thought unprecedented in England, fince it had formerly been conferred on Henry VIII[z].

The parliament was much difpofed to gratify the queen in all her defires; but when the liberty, independency, and very being of the nation were in fuch vifible danger, they could not by any means be brought to compliance. They knew both the inveterate hatred which fhe bore to the lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the houfe of Auftria: They were acquainted with her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to poftpone all confiderations of juftice or national intereft to the eftablifhment of the catholic religion: They remarked that Gardiner had carefully avoided, in his fpeech, the giving to Elizabeth the appellation of the queen's fifter; and they thence concluded that a defign was formed of excluding her as illegitimate: They expected that Mary, if invefted with fuch a power as fhe required, would make a will in her hufband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province to the Spanifh monarchy: And they were the more alarmed with thefe projects, as they heard that Philip's defcent from the houfe of Lancafter

[z] Depeches de Noailles.

was

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was carefully insisted on, and that he was publicly represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

The parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a distance from the precipice which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage [a], which were drawn very favourable for England; but they declined the passing of any such law as the chancellor pointed out to them: They would not so much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband, while she was alive; and a bill introduced for that purpose was laid aside after the first reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of possessing any authority in England, they passed a law in which they declared, "That her majesty, as their only queen, should "solely, and as a sole queen, enjoy the crown and "sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-emi-"nences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, "in as large and ample a manner after her marriage "as before, without any title or claim accruing "to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by cour-"tesy of the realm, or by any other means [b]."

A LAW passed in this parliament for re-erecting the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward [c]. The queen had already, by an exertion of her power, put Tonstal in possession of that see: But though it was usual at that time for the crown to assume authority which might seem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more safe and satisfactory to procure the sanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for suppressing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the six articles, together with those against the Lollards, and against heresy and erroneous preaching: But none of these laws

[a] 1 Mar. parl. 2. cap. 2. [b] Ibid. cap. 1.
[c] Ibid. cap. 3.

could

could paſs the two houſes: A proof that the parliament had reſerves even in their conceſſions with regard to religion, about which they ſeem to have been leſs ſcrupulous. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not ſerve all her purpoſes, finiſhed the ſeſſion by diſſolving them. CHAP. XXXVI. 1554. 5th May.

MARY's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whoſe arrival ſhe hourly expected. This princeſs, who had lived ſo many years in a very reſerved and private manner, without any proſpect or hopes of a huſband, was ſo ſmitten with affection for her young conſort, whom ſhe had never ſeen, that ſhe waited with the utmoſt impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obſtacle was to her a ſource of anxiety and diſcontent[d]. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and ſhe could not conceal her vexation, that though ſhe brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with ſuch neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a ſingle letter[e]. Her fondneſs was but the more increaſed by this ſupercilious treatment; and when ſhe found that her ſubjects had entertained the greateſt averſion for the event to which ſhe directed her fondeſt wiſhes, ſhe made the whole Engliſh nation the object of her reſentment. A ſquadron, under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then reſided; but the admiral informing her that the diſcontents ran very high among the ſeamen, and that it was not ſafe for Philip to entruſt himſelf in their hands, ſhe gave orders to diſmiſs them[f]. She then dreaded leſt the French fleet, being maſters of the ſea, might intercept her huſband; and every rumour of danger, every blaſt of wind, threw her into panics and convulſions. Her health, and even her underſtanding,

[d] Strype, vol. iii. p. 125. [e] Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 248. [f] Ibid. p. 220.

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were visibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and she was struck with a new apprehension lest her person, impaired by time, and blasted by sickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how haggard she was become; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty, she knew not whether she ought more to desire or apprehend the arrival of Philip[g].

19th July. Philip's arrival in England

At last came the moment so impatiently expected; and news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton[h]. A few days after, they were married in Westminster, and having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so entrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inaccessible[i]: But this circumstance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness. The shortest absence gave her vexation; and when he showed civilities to any other woman, she could not conceal her jealousy and resentment.

Mary soon found that Philip's ruling passion was ambition; and that the only method of gratifying him, and securing his affections, was to render

[g] Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 222. 252, 253.

[h] Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 392. Godwin, p. 345. We are told by sir William Monson, p. 225, that the admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy, when Philip was on board; because they had not lowered their topsails, as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow seas: A very spirited behaviour, and very unlike those times.

[i] Baker, p. 320.

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him master of England. The interest and liberty of her people were considerations of small moment, in comparison of her obtaining this favourite point. She summoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; and that she might acquire the greater authority over them, she imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members[k]. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the protestants; all these causes, seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a house of commons, which was in a great measure to her satisfaction; and it was thought, from the disposition of the nation, that she might now safely omit, on her assembling the parliament, the title of *supreme head of the church*, though inseparably annexed by law to the crown of England[l]. Cardinal Pole had arrived in Flanders, invested with legantine powers from the pope: In order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the parliament passed an act reversing his attainder, and restoring his blood; and the queen, dispensing with the old statute of provisors, granted him permission to act as legate. The cardinal came over; and after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; professing a sincere repentance of their past transgressions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome;

12th Nov.

[k] Mem. of Cranm. p. 344. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 154, 155. [l] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 291. Strype, vol. iii. p. 155.

and

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and praying their majesties, that since they were happily uninfected with that criminal schism, they would intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects [m]. The request was easily granted. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church. The pope, then Julius III. being informed of these transactions, said that it was an unexampled instance of his felicity to receive thanks from the English for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing [n].

NOTWITHSTANDING the extreme zeal of those times for and against popery, the object always uppermost with the nobility and gentry was their money and estates: They were not brought to make these concessions in favour of Rome, till they had received repeated assurances, from the pope as well as the queen, that the plunder which they had made on the ecclesiastics should never be inquired into; and that the abbey and church lands should remain with the present possessors [o]. But not trusting altogether to these promises, the parliament took care in the law itself [p], by which they repealed the former statutes enacted against the pope's authority, to insert a clause, in which, besides bestowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the schism, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave security to the possessors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of ecclesiastical censures. The convocation also, in order to remove apprehensions on that head, were induced to present a petition to the same purpose [q]; and the legate, in his master's name, ratified all these transactions.

[m] Fox, vol. iii. p. 3. Heylin, p. 42. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 293. Godwin, p. 247. [n] Father Paul, lib. iv. [o] Heylin, p. 41. [p] 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. [q] Heylin, p. 43. 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. Strype, vol. iii. p. 159.

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It now appeared that, notwithstanding the efforts of the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually suppressed in England, and invincible barriers fixed against its re-establishment. For though the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics was for the present restored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably lost, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even these arbitrary, powerful, and bigoted princes, while the transactions where yet recent, could not regain to the church her possessions so lately ravished from her; and no expedients were left to the clergy for enriching themselves, but those which they had at first practised, and which had required many ages of ignorance, barbarism, and superstition, to produce their effect on mankind [r].

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The parliament having secured their own possessions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even to the lives of their fellow-citizens: They revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics [s], which had been rejected in the former parliament: They also enacted several statutes against seditious words and rumours [t]; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen [u]. Each parliament hitherto had been induced to go a step farther than their predecessors; but none of them had entirely lost all regard to national interests. Their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir of the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands, she failed in all her endeavours, and could not so much as procure the parliament's consent to his coronation [w]. All attempts likewise to obtain subsidies from the commons

[r] See note [R] at the end of the volume. [s] 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 6. [t] Ibid, c. 3. 9. [u] Ibid. c. 10. [w] Godwin, p. 348. Baker, p. 322.

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mons, in order to support the emperor in his war against France, proved fruitless: The usual animosity and jealousy of the English against that kingdom seemed to have given place for the present to like passions against Spain. Philip, sensible of the prepossessions entertained against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; lord Henry Dudley, sir George Harper, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir Edmond Warner, sir William St. Lo, sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaine, who had been confined from the suspicions or resentment of the court[x]. But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the spite and malice of the queen, and restoring her to liberty. This measure was not the effect of any generosity in Philip, a sentiment of which he was wholly destitute; but of a refined policy, which made him foresee, that if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonshire also reaped some benefit from Philip's affectation of popularity, and recovered his liberty: But that nobleman, finding himself exposed to suspicion, begged permission to travel[y]; and he soon after died at Padua, from poison, as is pretended, given him by the Imperialists. He was the eleventh and last earl of Devonshire of that noble family, one of the most illustrious in Europe.

The queen's extreme desire of having issue, had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, she fancied that she felt the embryo stir in her womb[z]. Her flatterers compared this motion of the infant to that of John the Baptist, who leaped

[x] Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 287. Stowe, p. 626. Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 146, 147. [y] Heylin, p. 40. Godwin, p. 349. [z] Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 25.

in

in his mother's belly at the salutation of the Virgin [a]. Dispatches were immediately sent to inform foreign courts of this event: Orders were issued to give public thanks: Great rejoicings were made: The family of the young prince was already settled [b]; for the catholics held themselves assured that the child was to be a male: And Bonner, bishop of London, made public prayers be said, that Heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation still remained somewhat incredulous; and men were persuaded that the queen laboured under infirmities which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropsy, which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all possible care; and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law, which in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster and dissolved them.

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16th Jan.

There happened an incident this session which must not be passed over in silence. Several members of the lower house, dissatisfied with the measures of the parliament, but finding themselves unable to prevent them, made a secession in order to show their disapprobation, and refused any longer to attend the house [c]. For this instance of contumacy they were indicted in the king's-bench after the dissolution of parliament: Six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: The rest traversed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an issue. Judging of the

[a] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 292. Godwin, p. 348. [b] Heylin, p. 46. [c] Coke's Institutes, part iv. p. 17. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 165.

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matter by the ſubſequent claims of the houſe of commons, and, indeed, by the true principles of free government, this attempt of the queen's miniſters muſt be regarded as a breach of privilege; but it gave little umbrage at the time, and was never called in queſtion by any houſe of commons which afterwards ſat during this reign. The count of Noailles, the French ambaſſador, ſays, that the queen threw ſeveral members into priſon for their freedom of ſpeech[d].

[d] Vol. v. p. 296.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL. THE TANJORE

CHAP. XXXVII.

Reasons for and against toleration——Persecutions ——A parliament——The queen's extortions—— The emperor resigns his crown——Execution of Cranmer——War with France——Battle of St. Quintin——Calais taken by the French——Affairs of Scotland——Marriage of the Dauphin and the queen of Scots——A parliament——Death of the queen.

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THE succefs which Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanifh match, and in the re-eftablifhment of the ancient religion, two points to which it was believed they bore an extreme averfion, had fo raifed his character for wifdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the council; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer fuffered any oppofition or control. Cardinal Pole himfelf, though more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and though fuperior in birth and ftation, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely refpected, he was reprefented more as a good man than a great minifter. A very important queftion was frequently debated before the queen and council by thefe two ecclefiaftics; whether the laws lately revived againft heretics fhould be put in execution, or fhould only be employed to reftrain by terror the bold attempts of thefe zealots? Pole was very fincere in his religious principles; and though his moderation had made him be fufpected at Rome of

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a tendency towards Lutheranism, he was seriously persuaded of the catholic doctrines, and thought that no consideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with such important interests. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaisance to Henry, he had shewn that had he not been pushed to extremity under the late minority, he was sufficiently disposed to make a sacrifice of his principles to the established theology. This was the well-known character of these two great counsellors; yet such is the prevalence of temper above system, that the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support by persecution that religion which at the bottom he regarded with great indifference [c]. This circumstance of public conduct was of the highest importance; and from being the object of deliberation in the council, it soon became the subject of discourse throughout the nation. We shall relate, in a few words, the topics by which each side supported, or might have supported, their scheme of policy; and shall display the opposite reasons, which have been employed with regard to an argument that ever has been and ever will be so much canvassed.

Reasons for and against toleration.

THE practice of persecution, said the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the scandal of all religion; and the theological animosity so fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their opposite sects, is a certain proof that they have never reached any serious persuasion with regard to these remote and sublime subjects. Even those who are the most impatient of contradiction in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of

[c] Heylin, p. 47.

polemical

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polemical divines; and wherever a man's knowledge and experience give him a perfect assurance in his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the opposition and mistakes of others. But while men zealously maintain what they neither clearly comprehend nor entirely believe, they are shaken in their imagined faith by the opposite persuasion, or even doubts, of other men; and vent on their antagonists that impatience which is the natural result of so disagreeable a state of the understanding. They then easily embrace any pretence for representing opponents as impious and profane; and if they can also find a colour for connecting this violence with the interests of civil government, they can no longer be restrained from giving uncontrolled scope to vengeance and resentment. But surely never enterprise was more unfortunate than that of founding persecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the sake of peace, to settle an entire uniformity of opinion in questions which of all others are least subjected to the criterion of human reason. The universal and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion in religious subjects can be owing at first to the stupid ignorance alone and barbarism of the people, who never indulge themselves in any speculation or inquiry; and there is no expedient for maintaining that uniformity, so fondly sought after, but by banishing for ever all curiosity and all improvement in science and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check by a steady severity, the first beginnings of controversy; but besides that this policy exposes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of superstition, and the magistrate to the endless encroachments of ecclesiastics, it also renders men so delicate that they can never endure to hear of opposition; and they will some time pay dearly for that false tranquillity in which they have been so long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are

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thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life; a people who never were allowed to imagine that their principles could be contested, fly out into the most outrageous violence when any event (and such events are common) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives rise to any difference in tenet or opinion. But whatever may be said in favour of suppressing, by persecution, the first beginnings of heresy, no solid argument can be alleged for extending severity towards multitudes, or endeavouring by capital punishments to extirpate an opinion which has diffused itself among men of every rank and station. Besides the extreme barbarity of such an attempt, it commonly proves ineffectual to the purpose intended; and serves only to make men more obstinate in their persuasion, and to increase the number of their proselytes. The melancholy with which the fear of death, torture, and persecution inspires the sectaries, is the proper disposition for fostering religious zeal: The prospect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal punishments: The glory of martyrdom stimulates all the more furious zealots, especially the leaders and preachers: Where a violent animosity is excited by oppression, men naturally pass from hating the persons of their tyrants, to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines: And the spectators, moved with pity towards the supposed martyrs, are easily seduced to embrace those principles which can inspire men with a constancy that appears almost supernatural. Open the door to toleration, mutual hatred relaxes among the sectaries; their attachment to their particular modes of religion decays; the common occupations and pleasures of life succeed to the acrimony of disputation; and the same man who in other circumstances would have braved flames and tortures, is induced to change his sect from the smallest prospect of favour and advancement,

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ment, or even from the frivolous hope of becoming more faſhionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, nowiſe connected with the ancient religion of the ſtate, is imported from foreign countries, and may eaſily at one blow be eradicated without leaving the ſeeds of future innovation. But as this exception would imply ſome apology for the ancient pagan perſecutions, or for the extirpation of Chriſtianity in China and Japan; it ought ſurely, on account of this deteſted conſequence, to be rather buried in eternal ſilence and oblivion.

THOUGH theſe arguments appear entirely ſatiſfactory, yet ſuch is the ſubtilty of human wit, that Gardiner and the other enemies to toleration were not reduced to ſilence; and they ſtill found topics on which to maintain the controverſy. The doctrine, ſaid they, of liberty of conſcience, is founded on the moſt flagrant impiety, and ſuppoſes ſuch an indifference among all religions, ſuch an obſcurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and magiſtrate incapable of diſtinguiſhing with certainty the dictates of Heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will ſurely give a criterion by which they may be aſcertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows theſe principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permiſſion for the vending of poiſon under the ſhape of food to all his ſubjects. Perſecution may, indeed, ſeem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocriſy often turn into reality; and the children, at leaſt, ignorant of the diſſimulation of their parents, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is abſurd, in oppoſition to conſiderations of ſuch unſpeakable im-

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555. portance, to plead the temporal and frivolous interefts of civil fociety; and if matters be thoroughly examined. even that topic will not appear fo univerfally certain in favour of toleration as by fome it is reprefented. Where fects arife, whofe fundamental principle on all fides is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate each other; what choice has the magiftrate left, but to take part, and by rendering one fect entirely prevalent, reftore, at leaft for a time, the public tranquillity? The political body, being here fickly, muft not be treated as if it were in a ftate of found health; and an effectual neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may ferve only to encourage the hopes of all the fects, and keep alive their animofity. The proteftants, far from tolerating the religion of their anceftors, regard it as an impious and deteftable idolatry; and during the late minority, when they were entirely mafters, they enacted very fevere though not capital punifhments againft all exercife of the catholic worfhip, and even againft fuch as barely abftained from their profane rites and facraments. Nor are inftances wanting of their endeavours to fecure an imagined orthodoxy by the moft rigorous executions: Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva: Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptifts to the ftake: And if perfecution of any kind be admitted, the moft bloody and violent will furely be allowed the moft juftifiable, as the moft effectual. Imprifonments, fines, confifcations, whippings, ferve only to irritate the fects, without difabling them from refiftance: But the ftake, the wheel, and the gibbet, muft foon terminate in the extirpation or banifhment of all the heretics inclined to give difturbance, and in the entire filence and fubmiffion of the reft.

The arguments of Gardiner, being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better

better received; and though Pole pleaded, as is affirmed [e], the advice of the emperor, who recommended it to his daughter-in-law not to exercise violence against the protestants, and desired her to consider his own example, who, after endeavouring through his whole life to extirpate heresy, had in the end reaped nothing but confusion and disappointment, the scheme of toleration was entirely rejected. It was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion; and England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the catholic religion the object of general detestation, and which prove, that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion.

Violent persecutions in England.

THE persecutors began with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was first to attack men of that character whom he hoped terror would bend to submission, and whose example, either of punishment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude: But he found a perseverance and courage in Rogers, which it may seem strange to find in human nature, and of which all ages and all sects do nevertheless furnish many examples. Rogers, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under other powerful temptations to compliance: He had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his serenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was

[e] Burnet, vol. ii. Heylin, p. 47. It is not likely, however, that Charles gave any such advice: For he himself was at this very time proceeding with great violence in persecuting the reformed in Flanders. Bentivoglio, part 1. lib. 1.

a priest,

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a priest, and could not possibly have a wife; thus joining insult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield[f].

Hooper, bishop of Glocester, had been tried at the same time with Rogers; but was sent to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a source of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation: But he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity: The wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body: The faggots were green, and did not kindle easily: All his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked: One of his hands dropped off: With the other he continued to beat his breast: He was heard to pray and to exhort the people; till his tongue, swoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy[g].

Sanders was burned at Coventry: A pardon was also offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome the cross of "Christ! welcome everlasting life!" Taylor, parson of Hadley, was punished by fire in that place, surrounded by his ancient friends and parishioners. When tied to the stake, he rehearsed a psalm in English: One of his guards struck him in the

f Fox, vol. iii. p. 119. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302.

g Fox, vol. iii. p. 145, &c. Burnet, vol. ii. p 302. Heylin, p. 48, 49. Godwin, p. 349.

mouth,

mouth, and bade him ſpeak Latin: Another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, which happily put an end to his torments.

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THERE was one Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, inflamed with ſuch zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in diſpute with an Arian, he ſpit in his adverſary's face to ſhew the great deteſtation which he had entertained againſt that hereſy. He afterwards wrote a treatiſe to juſtify this unmannerly expreſſion of zeal: He ſaid, that he was led to it in order to relieve the ſorrow conceived from ſuch horrid blaſphemy, and to ſignify how unworthy ſuch a miſcreant was of being admitted into the ſociety of any Chriſtian[h]. Philpot was a proteſtant; and falling now into the hands of people as zealous as himſelf, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and ſuffered at Smithfield. It ſeems to be almoſt a general rule, that in all religions except the true, no man will ſuffer martyrdom who would not alſo inflict it willingly on all that differ from him. The ſame zeal for ſpeculative opinions is the cauſe of both.

THE crime for which almoſt all the proteſtants were condemned was, their refuſal to acknowledge the real preſence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would ſtrike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who ſeemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy ſufferers[i]. He ſometimes whipped the priſoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exerciſe: He tore out the beard of a weaver who refuſed to relinquiſh his religion; and that he might give him a ſpeci-

h Strype, vol. iii. p. 261. and Coll. N° 58.
i Heylin, p. 47, 48.

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men of burning, he held his hand to the candle till the finews and veins fhrunk and burft[k].

It is needlefs to be particular in enumerating all the cruelties practifed in England during the courfe of three years that thefe perfecutions lafted: The favage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient conftancy on the other, are fo fimilar in all thofe martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itfelf, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occafion, fo deteftable, and at the fame time fo abfurd, as in thefe religious perfecutions, which fink men below infernal fpirits in wickednefs, and below the beafts in folly. A few inftances only may be worth preferving, in order, if poffible, to warn zealous bigots for ever to avoid fuch odious and fuch fruitlefs barbarity.

Ferrar, bifhop of St. David's, was burned in his own diocefe; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to[l]. Ridley, bifhop of London, and Latimer, formerly bifhop of Worcefter, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perifhed together in the fame flames at Oxford, and fupported each other's conftancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the ftake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; "we fhall this day kindle fuch a torch in England, "as, I truft in God, fhall never be extinguifhed." The executioners had been fo merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be afcribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about thefe prelates, in order to put a fpeedy period to their tortures: The explofion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age; Ridley continued alive during fome time in the midft of the flames[m].

k Fox, vol. iii. p. 187. l Ibid. p. 216.
m Burnet, vol. ii. p. 318. Heylin, p. 52.

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One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been ſeduced by a prieſt into a diſpute, had unwarily denied the real preſence. Senſible of his danger, he immediately abſconded; but Bonner laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greateſt ſeverities if he did not produce the young man to ſtand his trial. Hunter hearing of the vexations to which his father was expoſed, voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf to Bonner, and was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the ſtake, agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a ſignal to that purpoſe in the midſt of the flames. His zeal for the cauſe in which he ſuffered ſo ſupported him that he ſtretched out his arms, the ſignal agreed on; and in that poſture he expired[l]. This example, with many others of like conſtancy, encouraged multitudes not only to ſuffer, but even to court and aſpire to martyrdom.

The tender ſex itſelf, as they have commonly greater propenſity to religion, produced many examples of the moſt inflexible courage in ſupporting the profeſſion of it againſt all the fury of the perſecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumſtances which, even at that time, excited aſtoniſhment by reaſon of their unuſual barbarity. A woman in Guernſey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the ſtake, was thrown into ſuch agitation by the torture that her belly burſt, and ſhe was delivered in the midſt of the flames. One of the guards immediately ſnatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to ſave it: But a magiſtrate who ſtood by, ordered it to be thrown back, being determined, he ſaid, that nothing ſhould ſurvive which ſprang from ſo obſtinate and heretical a parent[m].

[l] Fox, vol. iii. p. 265. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 337.

[m] Ibid. p. 747. Heylin, p. 57.

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The persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatising, contrary to the established religion: They were seized merely on suspicion; and articles being offered them to subscribe, they were immediately upon their refusal condemned to the flames[n]. These instances of barbarity, so unusual in the nation, excited horror; the constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds, which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of honour, of pious dispositions, exposed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians for crimes subversive of civil society. To exterminate the whole protestant party was known to be impossible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to subject to torture the most conscientious and courageous among them, and allow the cowards and hypocrites to escape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred sermons against popery; and men either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though secret, indignation against the persecutors. Repeated orders were sent from the council to quicken the diligence of the magistrates in searching out heretics; and in some places the gentry were constrained to countenance by their presence those barbarous executions. These acts of violence tended only to render the Spanish government daily more odious; and Philip, sensible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice: He ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine somewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spanish friar[o]. But the court finding that Bonner, however shameless and

[n] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 306. [o] Heylin, p. 55.

savage,

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ſavage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, ſoon threw off the maſk; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without control. A bold ſtep was even taken towards introducing the inquiſition into England. As the biſhops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be inveſted with ſufficient power, a commiſſion was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate hereſy. Twenty-one perſons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole. The commiſſion runs in theſe terms: "That ſince many falſe rumours were publiſhed among the ſubjects, and "many heretical opinions were alſo ſpread among "them, the commiſſioners were to inquire into "thoſe, either by preſentments, by witneſſes, or "any other political way they could deviſe, and to "ſearch after all hereſies; the bringers in, the "ſellers, the readers of all heretical books: They "were to examine and puniſh all miſbehaviours or "negligences in any church or chapel; and to try "all prieſts that did not preach the ſacrament of the "altar; all perſons that did not hear maſs, or come "to their pariſh church to ſervice, that would not "go in proceſſions, or did not take holy bread or "holy water: And if they found any that did obſtinately perſiſt in ſuch hereſies, they were to put "them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be "puniſhed according to the ſpiritual laws: Giving "the commiſſioners full power to proceed as their "diſcretions and conſciences ſhould direct them, "and to uſe all ſuch means as they would invent "for the ſearching of the premiſes; empowering "them alſo to call before them ſuch witneſſes as they "pleaſed, and to force them to make oath of ſuch "things as might diſcover what they ſought after [p]."

[p] Burnet, vol. ii. coll. 32.

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1555. To bring the methods of proceeding in England ſtill nearer to the practice of the inquiſition, letters were written to lord North, and others, enjoining them, "To put to the torture ſuch obſtinate perſons "as would not confeſs, and there to order them at "their diſcretion[q]." Secret ſpies alſo and informers were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Inſtructions were given to the juſtices of peace, "That they ſhould call ſecretly "before them one or two honeſt perſons within "their limits, or more at their diſcretion, and com-"mand them by oath, or otherwiſe, that they ſhall "ſecretly learn and ſearch out ſuch perſons as ſhall "evil-behave themſelves in church, or idly, or "ſhall deſpiſe openly by words, the king's or "queen's proceedings, or go about to make any "commotion, or tell any ſeditious tales or news. "And alſo that the ſame perſons ſo to be appointed "ſhall declare to the ſame juſtices of peace the ill "behaviour of lewd diſordered perſons, whether it "ſhall be for uſing unlawful games, and ſuch other "light behaviour of ſuch ſuſpected perſons: And "that the ſame information ſhall be given ſecretly "to the juſtices; and the ſame juſtices ſhall call "ſuch accuſed perſons before them, and examine "them, without declaring by whom they were ac-"cuſed. And that the ſame juſtices ſhall, upon "their examination, puniſh the offenders accord-"ing as their offences ſhall appear, upon the ac-"cuſement and examination, by their diſcretion, "either by open puniſhment or by good abearing[r]." In ſome reſpects, this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppreſſion of the inquiſition; by introducing, into every part of government, the ſame iniquities which that tribunal practiſes for the extirpation of

[q] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 243.

[r] Ibid. p. 246, 247.

hereſy

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heresy only, and which are in some measure necessary wherever that end is earnestly pursued.

But the court had devised a more expeditious and summary method of supporting orthodoxy than even the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition; and declared, "That whosoever had any of these "books, and did not presently burn them, without "reading them, or shewing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any "farther delay be executed by martial law[s]." From the state of the English government during that period, it is not so much the illegality of these proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our censure.

We have thrown together almost all the proceedings against heretics, though carried on during a course of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as possible, to return to such shocking violences and barbarities. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet is it much inferior to what has been practised in other countries. A great author[t] computes, that in the Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had also been considerable. Yet in both countries, as the same

[s] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 363. Heylin, p. 79. [t] Father Paul, lib. v.

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author ſubjoins, the progreſs of the new opinions, inſtead of being checked, was rather forwarded by theſe perſecutions.

THE burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Romiſh communion, and little ſolicitation was requiſite to engage the pope to receive the ſtrayed flock, from which he reaped ſuch conſiderable profit: Yet was there a ſolemn embaſſy ſent to Rome, conſiſting of ſir Anthony Brown, created viſcount Montacute, the biſhop of Ely, and ſir Edward Carne; in order to carry the ſubmiſſions of England, and beg to be re-admitted into the boſom of the catholic church[u]. Paul IV. after a ſhort interval, now filled the papal chair; the moſt haughty pontiff that during ſeveral ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended that Mary ſtill retained among her titles that of queen of Ireland; and he affirmed, that it belonged to him alone, as he ſaw cauſe, either to erect new kingdoms, or aboliſh the old: But to avoid all diſpute with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and he then admitted the title, as if it had been aſſumed from his conceſſion. This was a uſual artifice of the popes, to give allowance to what they could not prevent[w], and afterwards pretend that princes, while they exerciſed their own powers, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And though Paul had at firſt intended to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title before he would beſtow it upon her; he found it prudent to proceed in a leſs haughty manner[x].

ANOTHER point in diſcuſſion between the pope and the Engliſh ambaſſadors was not ſo eaſily terminated. Paul inſiſted, that the property and poſſeſſions of the church ſhould be reſtored to the uttermoſt far-

[u] Heylin, p. 45. [w] Ibid. Father Paul, lib. v.
[x] Father Paul, lib. v.

thing:

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thing: That whatever belonged to God could never by any law be converted to profane uſes, and every perſon who detained ſuch poſſeſſions was in a ſtate of eternal damnation: That he would willingly, in conſideration of the humble ſubmiſſions of the Engliſh, make them a preſent of theſe eccleſiaſtical revenues; but ſuch a conceſſion exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that ſo great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blaſt all their future felicity: That if they would truly ſhew their filial piety, they muſt reſtore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romiſh church, and Peter's pence amongſt the reſt; nor could they expect that this apoſtle would open to them the gates of paradiſe, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth [y]. Theſe earneſt remonſtrances being tranſmitted to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen; who was determined, in order to eaſe her conſcience, to reſtore all the church lands which were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the crown: And the more to diſplay her zeal, ſhe erected anew ſome convents and monaſteries, notwithſtanding the low condition of the exchequer [z]. When this meaſure was debated in council, ſome members objected, that if ſuch a conſiderable part of the revenue were diſmembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the queen replied, that ſhe preferred the ſalvation of her ſoul to ten ſuch kingdoms as England [a]. Theſe imprudent meaſures would not probably have taken place ſo eaſily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time: The great ſeal was given to Heathe, archbiſhop of York; that an eccleſiaſtic might ſtill be poſſeſſed of that high office, and be better enabled

y Father Paul, lib. v. Heylin, p. 45.
z Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 312.
a Heylin, p. 53. 65. Hollingſhed, p. 1127. Speed, p. 826.

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by his authority to forward the persecutions against the reformed.

21st Oct. A parliament.

THESE persecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public discontent appeared in the new parliament summoned to meet at Westminster [b]. A bill [c] was passed, restoring to the church the tenths and first-fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herself, great opposition was made to the bill in the house of commons. An application being made for a subsidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refused by the commons; and many members said, that while the crown was thus despoiling itself of its revenue, it was in vain to bestow riches upon it. The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another, for incapacitating such as were remiss in the prosecution of heresy from being justices of peace. The queen,

9th Dec.

finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

THE spirit of opposition which began to prevail in parliament was the more likely to be vexatious to Mary, as she was otherwise in very bad humour on account of her husband's absence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and had gone over last summer to the emperor in Flanders. The indifference and neglect of Philip, added to the disappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep melancholy; and she gave vent to her spleen, by daily enforcing the persecutions against the protestants, and even by expressions of rage against all her subjects; by whom she knew herself

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 322.
[c] 2 and 3 Phil. and Mar. cap. 4.

to

to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her so little of his company[d]. The less return her love met with, the more it increased; and she passed most of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her passion, either in tears, or in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom returned her any answer, and scarcely deigned to pretend any sentiment of love or even of gratitude towards her. The chief part of government to which she attended was the extorting of money from her people, in order to satisfy his demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a scanty supply, she had recourse to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied a loan of 60,000 pounds upon a thousand persons, of whose compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, she held herself best assured: But that sum not sufficing, she exacted a general loan on every one who possessed twenty pounds a-year. This imposition lay heavy on the gentry, who were obliged many of them to retrench their expences, and dismiss their servants, in order to enable them to comply with her demands: And as these servants, accustomed to idleness, and having no means of subsistence, commonly betook themselves to theft and robbery, the queen published a proclamation, by which she obliged their former masters to take them back to their service. She levied 60,000 marks on 7000 yeoman, who had not contributed to the former loan; and she exacted 36,000 pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage some Londoners to comply more willingly with her multiplied extortions, she passed an edict, prohibiting for four months the exporting of any English cloth or kersey to the Netherlands; an expedient which procured a

The queen's extortions.

[d] Depeches de Noailles, vol. v. p. 370. 562.

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good market for ſuch as had already ſent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciouſneſs engaged her to give endleſs diſturbance and interruption to commerce. The Engliſh company ſettled in Antwerp having refuſed her a loan of 40,000 pounds, ſhe diſſembled her reſentment till ſhe found that they had bought and ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: She then laid an embargo on the ſhips, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the 40,000 pounds at firſt demanded, to engage for the payment of 20,000 pounds more at a limited time, and to ſubmit to an arbitrary impoſition of twenty ſhillings on each piece. Some time after ſhe was informed, that the Italian merchants had ſhipped above 40,000 pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay her a crown a-piece, the uſual impoſition: She ſtruck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; and received from the Engliſh merchants, in conſideration of this iniquity, the ſum of 50,000 pounds, and an impoſition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they ſhould export. She attempted to borrow great ſums abroad; but her credit was ſo low, that though ſhe offered 14 per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of 30,000 pounds, ſhe could not obtain it till ſhe compelled the city of London to be ſurety for her[c]. All theſe violent expedients were employed while ſhe herſelf was in profound peace with all the world, and had viſibly no occaſion for money but to ſupply the demands of a huſband, who gave attention only to his own convenience, and ſhowed himſelf entirely indifferent about her intereſts.

The emperor reſigns his crown.

PHILIP was now become maſter of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richeſt and moſt ex-

[c] Godwin, p. 359. Cowper's Chronicle. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 359. Carte, p. 330. 333. 337. 341. Strype's Memor. vol. iii. p. 428. 558. Annals, vol. i. p. 15.

tenſive

tensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of the emperor Charles V. who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happiness which he had in vain pursued amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. He summoned the states of the Low Countries; and, seating himself on the throne for the last time, explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and, devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burden which he imposed upon him[d]. He inculcated on him the great and only duty of a prince, the study of his people's happiness; and represented how much preferable it was to govern by affection rather than by fear the nations subjected to his dominion. The cool reflections of age now discovered to him the emptiness of his former pursuits; and he found that the vain schemes of extending his empire had been the source of endless opposition and disappointment, and kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects, in perpetual inquietude, and had frustrated the sole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care; an object which meets with less opposition, and which, if steadily pursued, can alone convey a lasting and solid satisfaction.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555. 25th Oct.

A FEW months after he resigned to Philip his other dominions; and, embarking on board a fleet, sailed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Just, a monastery in Estremadura, which, being situated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place of his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos he found, by the thinness of his court, and the negligent attendance of the 1556.

[d] Thuan. lib. xvi. c. 20.

Spanish

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Spanish grandees, that he was no longer emperor; and though this observation might convince him still more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily despise what he had renounced, he sighed to find that all former adulation and obeisance had been paid to his fortune, not to his person. With better reason was he struck with the ingratitude of his son Philip, who obliged him to wait a long time for the payment of the small pension which he had reserved; and this disappointment in his domestic enjoyments gave him a sensible concern. He pursued, however, his resolution with inflexible constancy; and, shutting himself up in his retreat, he exerted such self-command, that he restrained even his curiosity from any enquiry concerning the transactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. The fencing against the pains and infirmities under which he laboured occupied a great part of his time; and during the intervals he employed his leisure either in examining the controversies of theology, with which his age had been so much agitated, and which he had hitherto considered only in a political light, or in imitating the works of renowned artists, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is said to have here discovered a propensity to the new doctrines; and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his sentiments. Having amused himself with the construction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was in which he had so much employed himself during his grandeur; and how impossible that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind concur in the same belief and opinion. He survived his retreat two years.

The emperor Charles had very early in the beginning of his reign found the difficulty of governing such distant dominions; and he had made his bro-

ther

ther Ferdinand be elected king of the Romans; with a view to his inheriting the Imperial dignity, as well as his German dominions. But having afterwards enlarged his schemes, and formed plans of aggrandising his family, he regretted that he must dismember such considerable states; and he endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the most tempting offers, and most earnest solicitations, to yield up his pretensions in favour of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitless, he had resigned the Imperial crown with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refused the demand; and pretended, that though on the death of an emperor he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet, in the case of a resignation, the right devolved to the holy see, and it belonged to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. The conduct of Paul was in every thing conformable to these lofty pretensions. He thundered always in the ears of all ambassadors, that he stood in no need of the assistance of any prince; that he was above all potentates of the earth; that he would not accustom monarchs to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him; that it belonged to him to alter and regulate kingdoms; that he was successor of those who had deposed kings and emperors; and that, rather than submit to any thing below his dignity, he would set fire to the four corners of the world. He went so far, as at table, in the presence of many persons, and even openly, in a public consistory, to say, that he would not admit any kings for his companions; they were all his subjects, and he would hold them under these feet: So saying, he stamped on the ground with his old and infirm limbs: For he was now past fourscore years of age [e].

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

THE world could not forbear making a comparison between Charles V. a prince who, though educated amidst wars and intrigues of state, had prevented the

[e] Father Paul, lib. v.

decline

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decline of age, and had descended from the throne, in order to set apart an interval for thought and reflection, and a priest who, in the extremity of old age, exulted in his dominion, and, from restless ambition and revenge, was throwing all nations into combustion. Paul had entertained the most inveterate animosity against the house of Austria; and though a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, he excited Henry, by his solicitations, to break it, and promised to assist him in recovering Naples, and the dominions to which he laid claim in Italy; a project which had ever proved hurtful to the predecessors of that monarch. He himself engaged in hostilities with the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples; and Guise being sent with forces to support him, the renewal of war between the two crowns seemed almost inevitable. Philip, though less warlike than his father, was no less ambitious; and he trusted, that by the intrigues of the cabinet, where he believed his caution and secrecy and prudence gave him the superiority, he should be able to subdue all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion. For this reason, as well as from the desire of settling his new empire, he wished to maintain peace with France; but when he found, that without sacrificing his honour it was impossible for him to overlook the hostile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with great industry. In order to give himself the more advantage, he was desirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and though the queen was of herself extremely averse to that measure, he hoped that the devoted fondness which, notwithstanding repeated instances of his indifference, she still bore to him, would effectually second his applications. Had the matter indeed depended solely on her, she was incapable of resisting her husband's commands; but she had little weight with her council, still less with her people; and her government, which was every day becoming more

odious,

odious, seemed unable to maintain itself even during the most profound tranquillity, much more if a war were kindled with France, and, what seemed an inevitable consequence, with Scotland, supported by that powerful kingdom.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

Execution of Cranmer.

An act of barbarity was this year exercised in England, which, added to many other instances of the same kind, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Cranmer had long been detained prisoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; and, in order the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner bishop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were sent to degrade him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which suited his savage nature[f]. The implacable spirit of the queen, not satisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was condemned, prompted her also to seek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him, not in the way of disputation, against which he was sufficiently armed; but by flattery, insinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity[g]. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to pre-

[f] Mem. of Cranm. p. 375. [g] Heylin, p. 55. Mem. p. 383.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556. vail over his resolution, and he agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent him orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, surprised the audience by a contrary declaration. He said, that he was well apprised of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, whatever hardships they should impose upon him: That a superior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind: That there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented; the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: That he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation; and was willing to seal, with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from Heaven: And that, as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the stake, amidst the insults of the catholics; and having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and, without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness,

March 21.

or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, *This hand has offended.* Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and, by the force of hope and resolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit; possessed of learning and capacity, and adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the protestant party[h].

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

After Cranmer's death cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was installed in the see of Canterbury; and was thus, by this office, as well as by his commission of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. But though he was averse to all sanguinary methods of converting heretics, and deemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the more laudable expedient for that purpose[i]; he found his authority too weak to oppose the barbarous and bigoted disposition of the queen and of her counsellors. He himself, he knew, had been suspected of Lutheranism; and as

h Burnet, vol. ii. p. 331, 332, &c. Godwin, p 352.
i Burnet, vol. ii. p. 324, 325.

Paul,

CHAP. XXXVII. Paul, the reigning pope, was a furious persecutor, and his personal enemy, he was prompted, by the modesty of his disposition, to reserve his credit for other occasions, in which he had a greater probability of success [k].

1557. THE great object of the queen was to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with many other counsellors, openly and zealously opposed this measure. Besides insisting on the marriage articles, which provided against such an attempt, they represented the violence of the domestic factions in England, and the disordered state of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of all these measures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependence on Spanish counsels. Philip had come to London, in order to support his partisans; and he told the queen, that if he were not gratified in so reasonable a request, he never more would set foot in England. This declaration extremely heightened her zeal for promoting his interests, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, she threatened to dismiss all of them, and to appoint counsellors more obsequious; yet could she not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At length, one Stafford and some other conspirators were detected in a design of surprising Scarborough [l]; and a confession being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry in the attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hostility, with others of a like secret and doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War was accordingly declared against France; and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom.

[k] Heylin, p. 68, 69. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 327.
[l] Heylin, p. 72. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 351. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs.

THE

CHAP. XXXVII. 1557.

THE revenue of England at that time little exceeded 300,000 pounds[m]. Any considerable supplies could scarcely be expected from parliament, considering the present disposition of the nation; and as the war would sensibly diminish that branch arising from the customs, the finances, it was foreseen, would fall short even of the ordinary charges of government; and must still more prove unequal to the expences of war. But though the queen owed great arrears to all her servants, besides the loans extorted from her subjects, these considerations had no influence with her; and, in order to support her warlike preparations, she continued to levy money in the same arbitrary and violent manner which she had formerly practised. She obliged the city of London to supply her with 60,000 pounds on her husband's entry; she levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she issued anew many privy seals, by which she procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not victual by reason of the dearness of provisions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and lest they should be known, the Spanish practice was followed: They either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them[n].

[m] Rossi, Successi d'Inghilterra.
[n] Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. iii, p. 377.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1557.

The king of Spain had aſſembled an army which, after the junction of the Engliſh, amounted to above ſixty thouſand men, conducted by Philibert duke of Savoy, one of the greateſt captains of the age. The conſtable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppoſe to him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Mariembourgh and Rocroy, ſuddenly ſat down before St. Quintin; and as the place was weak and ill provided with a garriſon, he expected in a few days to become maſter of it. But admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour intereſted to ſave ſo important a fortreſs, threw himſelf into St. Quintin, with ſome troops of French and Scottiſh genſdarmery; and by his exhortations and example animated the ſoldiers to a vigorous defence. He diſpatched a meſſenger to his uncle

10th Aug. Montmorency, deſiring a ſupply of men; and the conſtable approached the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entry of theſe ſuccours. But the duke of Savoy, falling on the reinforcement, did ſuch execution upon them, that not above

Battle of St. Quintin.

five hundred got into the place. He next made an attack on the French army, and put them to total rout, killing four thouſand men, and diſperſing the remainder. In this unfortunate action many of the chief nobility of France were either ſlain or taken priſoners: Among the latter was the old conſtable himſelf, who, fighting valiantly, and reſolute to die rather than ſurvive his defeat, was ſurrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into conſternation: Paris was attempted to be fortified in a hurry: And had the Spaniards preſently marched thither, it could not have failed to fall into their hands. But Philip was of a cautious temper; and he determined firſt to take St. Quintin, in order to ſecure a communication with his own dominions. A

very

very little time, it was expected, would finish this enterprise; but the bravery of Coligny still prolonged the siege seventeen days, which proved the safety of France. Some troops were levied and assembled. Couriers were sent to recal the duke of Guise and his army from Italy: And the French, having recovered from their first panic, put themselves in a posture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Catelet, found the season so far advanced, that he could attempt no other enterprise: He broke up his camp, and retired to winter-quarters.

But the vigilant activity of Guise, not satisfied with securing the frontiers, prompted him, in the depth of winter, to plan an enterprise, which France during her greatest successes had always regarded as impracticable, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was in that age deemed an impregnable fortress; and as it was known to be the favourite of the English nation, by whom it could easily be succoured, the recovery of that place by France was considered as totally desperate. But Coligny had remarked, that as the town of Calais was surrounded with marshes, which during the winter were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam bridge, the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recal them in the spring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. On this circumstance he had founded the design of making a sudden attack on Calais; he had caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprise being found among his papers, it served, though he himself was made prisoner on the taking of St. Quintin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the measures of the duke of Guise.

Calais taken by the French.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

SEVERAL bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being suddenly assembled, formed an army, with which Guise made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the same time a great number of French ships, being ordered into the channel, under colour of cruising on the English, composed a fleet which made an attack by sea on the fortifications. The French assaulted St. Agatha with three thousand harquebusiers; and the garrison, though they made a vigorous defence, were soon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat to Newnam bridge. The siege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the same time the fleet battered the risbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and both these castles seemed exposed to imminent danger. The governor, lord Wentworth, was a brave officer; but finding that the greater part of his weak garrison was inclosed in the castle of Newnam bridge and the risbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which without their assistance he was utterly unable to defend. The garrison of Newnam bridge was so happy as to effect this purpose; but that of the risbank could not obtain such favourable conditions, and were obliged to surrender at discretion.

THE duke of Guise, now holding Calais blockaded by sea and land, thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprise, but in order to prevent all accident, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries against the castle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the fossée, he commanded an assault, which succeeded; and the French made a lodgment in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover his post; but having lost two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon it,

it[*], he found his garrifon fo weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guifnes fell foon after; and thus the duke of Guife in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himfelf mafter of this ftrong fortrefs, that had coft Edward III. a fiege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Creffy. The Englifh had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them an eafy entrance into France, it was regarded as the moft important poffeffion belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by Guife, who, at the time when all Europe imagined France to be funk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, had, in oppofition to the Englifh, and their allies the Spaniards, acquired poffeffion of a place which no former king of France, even during the diftractions of the civil wars between the houfes of York and Lancafter, had ever ventured to attempt. The Englifh, on the other hand, bereaved of this valuable fortrefs, murmured loudly againft the improvidence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitlefs war, for the fake of foreign interefts, had thus expofed the nation to fo fevere a difgrace. A treafury exhaufted by expences, and burthened with debts; a people divided and dejected; a fovereign negligent of her people's welfare; were circumftances which, notwithftanding the fair offers and promifes of Philip, gave them fmall hopes of recovering Calais. And as the Scots, inftigated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now neceffitated rather to look to their defence at home, than to think of foreign conquefts.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

Affairs of Scotland.

After the peace which, in confequence of king Edward's treaty with Henry, took place between Scotland and England, the queen-dowager, on pre-

[*] Thuan. lib. xx. cap. 2.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558. tence of visiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to France, and she carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Marischal, and many of the principal nobility. Her secret design was, to take measures for engaging the earl of Arran to resign to her the government of the kingdom; and as her brothers, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Aumale, had uncontrolled influence in the court of France, she easily persuaded Henry, and by his authority the Scottish nobles, to enter into her measures. Having also gained Carnegy of Kinnaird, Panter bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor's, she persuaded him, by their means, to consent to this resignation [p]; and when every thing was thus prepared for her purpose, she took a journey to Scotland, and passed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with great respect and civility; though he could not forbear attempting to renew the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter: A marriage, he said, so happily calculated for the tranquillity, interest, and security of both kingdoms, and the only means of ensuring a durable peace between them. For his part, he added, he never could entertain a cordial amity for any other husband whom she could choose; nor was it easy for him to forgive a man who, at the same time that he disappointed so natural an alliance, had bereaved him of a bride to whom his affections, from his earliest infancy, had been entirely engaged. The queen-dowager eluded these applications, by telling him, that if any measures had been taken disagreeable to him, they were entirely owing to the imprudence of the duke of Somerset, who, instead of employing courtesy, caresses, and gentle offices, the proper means of gaining a young princess,

[p] Buchanan, lib. xiv. Keith, p. 56. Spotswood, p. 92.

had

had had recourse to arms and violence, and had constrained the Scottish nobility to send their sovereign into France, in order to interest that kingdom in protecting their liberty and independence [q]. CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

When the queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, she found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and it was not till after many delays that he could be persuaded to resign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princess was approaching, and that the queen-dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to submit; and having stipulated that he should be declared next heir to the crown, and should be freed from giving any account of his past administration, he placed her in possession of the power; and she thenceforth assumed the name of regent [r]. It was a usual saying of this princess, that provided she could render her friends happy, and could ensure to herself a good reputation, she was entirely indifferent what befel her; and though this sentiment is greatly censured by the zealous reformers [s], as being founded wholly on secular motives, it discovers a mind well calculated for the government of kingdoms. D'Oisel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambassador from Henry, but in reality to assist her with his counsels in so delicate an undertaking as the administration of Scotland; and this man had formed a scheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to support a standing military force, which might at once repel the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scottish nobles. But though some of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general discontent to the nation; and the queen-regent, after ingenuously confessing that it would prove pernicious to the

[q] Keith, p. 59. [r] 12th April 1554. [s] Knox, p. 89.

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kingdom, had the prudence to desist from it, and to trust entirely for her security to the good-will and affections of her subjects[t].

This laudable purpose seemed to be the chief object of her administration; yet was she sometimes drawn from it by her connexions with France, and by the influence which her brothers had acquired over her. When Mary commenced hostilities against that kingdom, Henry required the queen-regent to take part in the quarrel; and she summoned a convention of states at Newbottle, and requested them to concur in a declaration of war against England. The Scottish nobles, who were become as jealous of French, as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent; and the queen was obliged to have recourse to stratagem, in order to effect her purpose. She ordered d'Oisel to begin some fortifications at Eyemouth, a place which had been dismantled by the last treaty with Edward; and when the garrison of Berwic, as she foresaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, she effectually employed this pretence to inflame the Scottish nation, and to engage them in hostilities against England[u]. The enterprises, however, of the Scots proceeded no farther than some inroads on the borders: When d'Oisel, of himself, conducted artillery and troops to besiege the castle of Werke, he was recalled, and sharply rebuked by the council[w].

Marriage of the dauphin and the queen of Scots.

In order to connect Scotland more closely with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was sent by the Scottish parliament to assist at the ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract.

[t] Keith, p. 70. Buchanan, lib. xvi.
[u] Buchanan, lib. xvi. Thuan. lib. xix. c. 7.
[w] Knox, p. 93.

THE

THE close alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repose and security of Mary; and it was foreseen, that though the factions and disorders which might naturally be expected in the Scottish government, during the absence of the sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, found it necessary to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. And such an emergency usually gives great advantage to the people, and as the parliaments during this reign had shewn, that where the liberty and independency of the kingdom was menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the court; we shall naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money should at least be censured, and, perhaps, some remedy be for the future provided against them. The commons, however, without making any reflections on the past, voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable, as was also the subsidy of the laity, in four years by equal portions.

20th Jan.

A parliament.

THE parliament also passed an act, confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands, which either were already made by the queen, or should be made during the seven ensuing years. It was easy to foresee, that in Mary's present disposition and situation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of the royal demesnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than to establish a prince with very extensive authority, yet permit him to be reduced to beggary. This act met with opposition in the house of commons. One Copley expressed his fears lest the queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alter the succes-

ſucceſſion, and alienate the crown from the lawful heir: But his words were thought *irreverent* to her majeſty: He was committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms; and though he expreſſed ſorrow for this offence, he was not releaſed till the queen was applied to for his pardon.

THE Engliſh nation, during this whole reign, were under great apprehenſions with regard not only to the ſucceſſion, but the life of the lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred which the queen bore to her broke out on every occaſion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princeſs retired into the country; and knowing that ſhe was ſurrounded with ſpies, ſhe paſſed her time wholly in reading and ſtudy, intermeddled in no buſineſs, and ſaw very little company. While ſhe remained in this ſituation, which for the preſent was melancholy, but which prepared her mind for thoſe great actions, by which her life was afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed; propoſals of marriage were made to her by the Swediſh ambaſſador in his maſter's name. As her firſt queſtion was, Whether the queen had been informed of theſe propoſals? the ambaſſador told her, that his maſter thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty firſt to make his addreſſes to herſelf; and having obtained her conſent, he would next, as a king, apply to her ſiſter. But the princeſs would allow him to proceed no farther; and the queen, after thanking her for this inſtance of duty, deſired to know how ſhe ſtood affected to the Swediſh propoſals. Elizabeth, though expoſed to many preſent dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to reſerve herſelf for better fortune; and ſhe covered her refuſal with profeſſions of a paſſionate attachment to a ſingle life, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe infinitely preferred before any other[y]. The princeſs

[y] Burnet, vol. ii. Collect. N° 37.

ſhowed

showed like prudence in concealing her sentiments of religion, in complying with the present modes of worship, and in eluding all questions with regard to that delicate subject [z].

The money granted by parliament enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, which, being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand land forces on board, was sent to make an attempt on the coast of Britanny. The fleet was commanded by lord Clinton; the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and arny was so dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the design, and were prepared to receive them. The English found Brest so well guarded as to render an attempt on that place impracticable; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town, with some adjacent villages, and were proceeding to commit greater disorders, when Kersimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of some militia, fell upon them, put them to rout, and drove them to their ships with considerable loss. But a small squadron of ten English ships had an opportunity of amply revenging this disgrace upon the French. The mareschal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of

z The common net at that time, says sir Richard Baker, for catching of protestants, was the real presence; and this net was used to catch the lady Elizabeth: For being asked one time, what she thought of the words of Christ, *This is my body*, whether she thought it the true body of Christ that was in the sacrament? It is said, that after some pausing, she thus answered:

> Christ was the word that spake it,
> He took the bread and brake it;
> And what the word did make it,
> That I believe and take it.

Which, though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidness than at first sight appears; at least, it served her turn at that time to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done. Baker's Chronicle, p. 320.

fourteen

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fourteen thousand men; and having forced a passage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, and had advanced as far as Newport, but count Egmont coming suddenly upon him with superior forces, he was obliged to retreat; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a battle inevitable, he chose very skilfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with all the precautions possible; and posted his right along the river Aa, which he reasonably thought gave him full security from that quarter. But the English ships, which were accidentally on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing, sailed up the river, and flanking the French, did such execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight; and the Spaniards gained a complete victory[a].

MEANWHILE the principal army of France, under the duke of Guise, and that of Spain, under the duke of Savoy, approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings had come into their respective camps, attended by the flower of their nobility, men expected that some great and important event would follow from the emulation of these warlike nations. But Philip, though actuated by the ambition, possessed not the enterprising genius of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, and the two great victories which he had gained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by treaty. Negociations were entered into for that purpose; and as the terms offered by the two monarchs were somewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter-quarters till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip, that of Calais and its territory to

[a] Hollingshed, p. 1150.

England:

England: But in the midst of these negociations, news arrived of the death of Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in his firmness on that capital article. This was the only circumstance that could have made the death of that princess be regretted by the nation.

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Mary had long been in a declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, she had made use of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, apprehensions of the danger to which the catholic religion stood exposed, dejection for the loss of Calais, concern for the ill state of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the absence of her husband, who she knew intended soon to depart for Spain, and to settle there during the remainder of his life: All these melancholy reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

Death of the queen. 17th Nov.

It is not necessary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princess. She possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable; and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumstance of her character, took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding. And amidst that complication of vices, which entered into her composition, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sincerity; a quality which she seems to have maintained throughout her whole life; except in the beginning of her reign, when the necessity of her affairs obliged her to make some promises to the protestants, which she certainly never intended to perform. But in these cases a weak bigoted woman, under the government

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vernment of priests, easily finds casuistry sufficient to justify to herself the violation of a promise. She appears also, as well as her father, to have been susceptible of some attachments of friendship; and that without the caprice and inconstancy which were so remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that in many circumstances of her life she gave indications of resolution and vigour of mind; a quality which seems to have been inherent in her family.

CARDINAL Pole had long been sickly, from an intermitting fever; and he died the same day with the queen, about sixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modesty and humanity of his deportment, made him be universally beloved; insomuch, that in a nation where the most furious persecution was carried on, and where the most violent religious factions prevailed, entire justice, even by most of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pontiff, Paul IV. had entertained some prejudices against him: And when England declared war against Henry, the ally of that pope, he seized the opportunity of revenge; and revoking Pole's legantine commission, appointed in his room cardinal Peyto, an observantine friar and confessor to the queen. But Mary would never permit the new legate to act upon the commission; and Paul was afterwards obliged to restore cardinal Pole to his authority.

THERE occur few general remarks, besides what have already been made in the course of our narration, with regard to the general state of the kingdom during this reign. The naval power of England was then so inconsiderable, that, fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed that ten thousand pounds a-year would afterwards answer all necessary charges [b]. The arbitrary

[b] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 259.

proceedings of the queen above-mentioned, joined to many monopolies granted by this princefs, as well as by her father, checked the growth of commerce; and fo much the more, as all other princes in Europe either were not permitted, or did not find it neceffary, to proceed in fo tyrannical a manner. Acts of parliament, both in the laft reign and in the beginning of the prefent, had laid the fame impofitions on the merchants of the ftill-yard as on other aliens: Yet the queen, immediately after her marriage, complied with the folicitations of the emperor, and by her prerogative fufpended thofe laws[c]. Nobody in that age pretended to queftion this exercife of prerogative. The hiftorians are entirely filent with regard to it; and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us.

An abfurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unlefs he had ferved an appenticefhip of feven years. The law was repealed in the firft year of the queen; and this plain reafon given, that it had occafioned the decay of the woollen manufactory, and had ruined feveral towns[d]. It is ftrange that Edward's law fhould have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth; and ftill more ftrange that it fhould ftill fubfift.

A passage to Archangel had been difcovered by the Englifh during the laft reign; and a beneficial trade with Mufcovy had been eftablifhed. A folemn embaffy was fent by the czar to queen Mary. The ambaffadors were fhipwrecked on the coaft of Scotland; but being hofpitably entertained there, they proceeded on the journey, and were received at London with great pomp and folemnity[e]. This feems to have been the firft intercourfe which that

c Rymer, vol. xv. p. 364.
d 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 7.
e *Hollingfhed*, p. 732. *Heylin*, p. 71.

empire

CHAP. XXXVII. empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

1558. A LAW was passed in this reign[f], by which the number of horses, arms, and furniture, was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a-year, for instance, was obliged to maintain at his own charge six horses fit for demi-lances, of which three at least to be furnished with sufficient harness, steel saddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten horses fit for light horsemen, with furniture and weapons proper for them: He was obliged to have forty corslets furnished; fifty almain revets, or, instead of them, forty coats of plate, corslets or brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty sheafs of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty harquebuts, and twenty morions or sallets. We may remark, that a man of a thousand marks of stock was rated equal to one of two hundred pounds a-year: A proof that few or none at that time lived on their stock in money, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the course of trade. There is no class above a thousand pounds a-year.

WE may form a notion of the little progress made in arts and refinement about this time from one circumstance: A man of no less rank than the comptroller of Edward VI.'s household paid only thirty shillings a-year of our present money for his house in Channel row[g]: Yet labour and provisions, and consequently houses, were only about a third of the present price. Erasmus ascribes the frequent plagues in England to the nastiness and dirt and slovenly habits among the people. "The floors," says he, "are commonly of clay, strewed with

[f] 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. cap. 2.
[g] Nicolson's Historical Library.

"rushes,

"rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient "collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, "spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every "thing that is nasty[h]." CHAP. XXXVII. 1553.

HOLLINGSHED, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign, gives a very curious account of the plain, or rather rude way of living of the preceding generation. There scarcely was a chimney to the houses, even in considerable towns: The fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke sought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows: The houses were nothing but watling plaistered over with clay: The people slept on straw pallets, and had a good round log under their head for a pillow; and almost all the furniture and utensils were of wood[i].

IN this reign we find the first general law with regard to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by parish duty all over England[k].

[h] Eras. Epist. 432. [i] See note [S] at the end of the volume. [k] 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. cap. 8.

NOTES

TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

NOTE [A], p. 34.

PROTESTANT writers have imagined, that becauſe a man could purchaſe for a ſhilling an indulgence for the moſt enormous and unheard-of crimes, there muſt neceſſarily have enſued a total diſſolution of morality, and conſequently of civil ſociety, from the practices of the Romiſh church. They do not conſider that after all theſe indulgences were promulgated, there ſtill remained (beſides Hell-fire) the puniſhment by the civil magiſtrate, the infamy of the world, and ſecret remorſes of conſcience, which are the great motives that operate on mankind. The philoſophy of *Cicero*, who allowed of an *Elyſium*, but rejected all *Tartarus*, was a much more univerſal indulgence than that preached by *Arcemboldi* or *Tetzel*: Yet nobody will ſuſpect *Cicero* of any deſign to promote immorality. The ſale of indulgences ſeems, therefore, no more criminal than any other cheat of the church of Rome, or of any other church. The reformers, by entirely aboliſhing purgatory, did really, inſtead of partial indulgences ſold by the pope, give gratis a general indulgence of a ſimilar nature for all crimes and offences without exception or diſtinction. The ſouls once conſigned to Hell were never ſuppoſed to be redeemable by any price. There is on record only one inſtance of a damned ſoul that was ſaved, and that by the ſpecial interceſſion of the Virgin. See Paſcal's Provincial Letters. An indulgence ſaved the perſon who purchaſed it from purgatory only.

NOTE [B], p. 48.

IT is ſaid that when Henry heard that the commons made a great difficulty of granting the required ſupply, he was ſo provoked that he ſent for Edward Montague, one of the members who had a conſiderable influence on the houſe; and he being introduced to his majeſty, had the mortification to hear him ſpeak in theſe words: *Ho! man! will they not ſuffer my bill to paſs?* And laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him, *Get my bill paſſed by to-morrow, or elſe to-morrow this head of yours ſhall be off.* This cavalier manner of Henry ſucceeded; for next day the bill paſſed. *Collins's Britiſh Peerage. Grove's Life of Wolſey.* We are told by *Hall*, fol. 38. that cardinal Wolſey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that *it were better that ſome ſhould ſuffer indigence than that the king at this time ſhould lack; and therefore beware and reſiſt not, nor ruffle not in this caſe, for it may fortune to coſt ſome people their heads.* Such was the ſtyle employed by this king and his miniſters.

NOTE [C], p. 94.

THE firſt article of the charge againſt the cardinal is his procuring the legantine power, which, however, as it was certainly done with the king's conſent and permiſſion, could be nowiſe criminal. Many of the other articles alſo regard the mere exerciſe of that power. Some articles impute to him as crimes, particular actions which were natural or unavoidable to any man that was prime miniſter with ſo unlimited an authority; ſuch as receiving firſt all letters from the king's miniſters abroad, receiving firſt all viſits from foreign miniſters, deſiring that all applications ſhould be made through him. He was alſo accuſed of naming himſelf with the king, as if he had been his fellow, *the king and I.* It is reported, that ſometimes he even put his own name before the king's, *ego et rex meus.* But this mode of expreſſion is juſtified by the Latin idiom. It is remarkable that his whiſpering in the king's ear, knowing himſelf to be affected with venereal diſtempers, is an article againſt him. Many of the charges are general, and incapable

pable of proof. Lord Herbert goes ſo far as to affirm that no man ever fell from ſo high a ſtation who had ſo few real crimes objected to him. This opinion is perhaps a little too favourable to the cardinal. Yet the refutation of the articles by Cromwel, and their being rejected by a houſe of commons, even in this arbitrary reign, is almoſt a demonſtration of Wolſey's innocence. Henry was, no doubt, entirely bent on his deſtruction, when on his failure by a parliamentary impeachment, he attacked him upon the ſtatute of proviſors, which afforded him ſo little juſt hold on that miniſter. For that this indictment was ſubſequent to the attack in parliament, appears by Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, and Stowe, p. 551. and more certainly by the very articles of impeachment themſelves. Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 42. article 7. Coke's Inſt. pt. 4. fol. 89.

NOTE [D], p. 102.

EVEN judging of this queſtion by the Scripture, to which the appeal was every moment made, the arguments for the king's cauſe appear but lame and imperfect. Marriage, in the degree of affinity which had place between Henry and Catherine, is indeed prohibited in Leviticus; but it is natural to interpret that prohibition as a part of the Jewiſh ceremonial or municipal law: And though it is there ſaid, in the concluſion, that the gentile nations, by violating thoſe degrees of conſanguinity, had incurred the divine diſpleaſure, the extenſion of this maxim to every preciſe caſe before ſpecified, is ſuppoſing the Scriptures to be compoſed with a minute accuracy and preciſion, to which we know with certainty the ſacred penmen did not think proper to confine themſelves. The deſcent of mankind from one common father, obliged them, in the firſt generation, to marry in the neareſt degrees of conſanguinity: Inſtances of a like nature occur among the patriarchs: And the marriage of a brother's widow was, in certain caſes, not only permitted, but even enjoined as a poſitive precept by the Moſaical law. It is in vain to ſay that this precept was an exception to the rule; and an exception confined merely to the Jewiſh nation. The inference is ſtill juſt, that ſuch a marriage can contain no natural or moral turpitude; otherwiſe God, who

is the author of all purity, would never in any case have enjoined it.

NOTE [E], p. 112.

BISHOP Burnet has given us an account of the number of bulls requisite for Cranmer's installation. By one bull, directed to the king, he is upon the royal nomination made archbishop of Canterbury. By a second, directed to himself, he is also made archbishop. By a third he is absolved from all censures. A fourth is directed to the suffragans, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. A fifth to the dean and chapter, to the same purpose. A sixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A seventh to all the laity in his see. An eighth to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordered to be consecrated, taking the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth the pall was sent him. By an eleventh, the archbishop of York and the bishop of London were required to put it on him. These were so many devices to draw fees to offices, which the popes had erected and disposed of for money. It may be worth observing, that Cranmer before he took the oath to the pope made a protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, the king, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these. This was the invention of some casuist, and not very compatible with that strict sincerity, and that scrupulous conscience, of which Cranmer made profession. Collier, vol. ii. in Coll. No. 22. Burnet, vol. i. p. 128, 129.

NOTE [F], p. 128.

HERE are the terms in which the king's minister expressed himself to the pope. An non, inquam, sanctitas vestra plerosque habet quibuscum arcanum aliquid crediderit, putet id non minus celatum esse quam si uno tantum pectore contineretur; quod multo magis serenissimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui singuli in suo regno sunt subjecti, neque etiam velint, possunt Regi non esse fide-

 lissimi.

liſſimi. Væ namque illis, ſi vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent. Le Grand, tom. iii. p. 113. The king once ſaid publicly before the council, that if any one ſpoke of him or his actions in terms which became them not, he would let them know that he was maſter. Et qu'il n'y auroit ſi belle tête qu'il ne fit voler. Id. p. 218.

NOTE [G], p. 158.

THIS letter contains ſo much nature, and even elegance, as to deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity, without any alteration in the expreſſion. It is as follows:

" SIR, your grace's diſpleaſure and my impriſonment " are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write or what " to excuſe I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend " unto me (willing me to confeſs a truth, and ſo obtain " your favour) by ſuch an one whom you know to be " mine ancient profeſſed enemy, I no ſooner received this " meſſage by him than I rightly conceived your meaning; " and if, as you ſay, confeſſing a truth indeed may pro- " cure my ſafety, I ſhall with all willingneſs and duty " perform your command.

" But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor " wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault where " not ſo much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to " ſpeak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all " duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found " in Anne Boleyn: With which name and place I could " willingly have contented myſelf, if God and your " grace's pleaſure had been ſo pleaſed. Neither did I at " any time ſo far forget myſelf in my exaltation or re- " ceived queenſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch an " alteration as I now find; for the ground of my prefer- " ment being on no ſurer foundation than your grace's " fancy, the leaſt alteration I knew was fit and ſufficient " to draw that fancy to ſome other object. You have " choſen me from a low eſtate to be your queen and com- " panion, far beyond my deſert or deſire. If then you " found me worthy of ſuch honour, good your grace let " not any light fancy, or bad counſel of mine enemies, " withdraw your princely favour from me: neither let " that ſtain, that unworthy ſtain, of a diſloyal heart to-

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"wards your good grace, ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your "moſt dutiful wife, and the infant princeſs your daughter. "Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, "and let not my ſworn enemies ſit as my accuſers and "judges; yea let me receive an open trial, for my truth "ſhall fear no open ſhame; then ſhall you ſee either mine "innocence cleared, your ſuſpicion and conſcience ſatiſ-"fied, the ignominy and ſlander of the world ſtopped, or "my guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or "you may determine of me, your grace may be freed "from an open cenſure; and mine offence being ſo law-"fully proved, your grace is at liberty both before God and "man not only to execute worthy puniſhment on me as "an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already "ſettled on that party for whoſe ſake I am now as I am, "whoſe name I could ſome good while ſince have pointed "unto, your grace not being ignorant of my ſuſpicion "therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that "not only my death, but an infamous ſlander, muſt bring "you the enjoying of your deſired happineſs, then I deſire "of God that he will pardon your great ſin therein, and "likewiſe mine enemies, the inſtruments thereof, and "that he will not call you to a ſtrict account for your "unprincely and cruel uſage of me, at his general judg-"ment-ſeat, where both you and myſelf muſt ſhortly ap-"pear, and in whoſe judgment I doubt not (whatſoever "the world may think of me) mine innocence ſhall be "openly known and ſufficiently cleared.

"My laſt and only requeſt ſhall be, that myſelf may "only bear the burden of your grace's diſpleaſure, and "that it may not touch the innocent ſouls of thoſe poor "gentlemen who (as I underſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait "impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found favour "in your ſight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath "been pleaſing in your ears, then let me obtain this re-"queſt, and I will ſo leave to trouble your grace any far-"ther, with mine earneſt prayers to the Trinity to have "your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all "your actions. From my doleful priſon in the Tower, "this ſixth of May;

"Your moſt loyal and ever faithful wife,

"Anne Boleyn."

NOTE [H], p. 169.

A Propofal had formerly been made in the convocation for the abolition of the leffer monafteries; and had been much oppofed by bifhop Fifher, who was then alive. He told his brethren that this was fairly fhowing the king the way how he might come at the greater monafteries. "An "ax," faid he, "which wanted a handle, came upon a "time into the wood, making his moan to the great trees "that he wanted a handle to work withal, and for that "caufe he was conftrained to fit idle; therefore he made "it his requeft to them that they would be pleafed to "grant him one of their fmall faplings within the wood "to make him a handle; who, miftrufting no guile, "granted him one of their fmaller trees to make him a "handle. But now becoming a complete ax, he fell fo "to work within the fame wood, that in procefs of time "there was neither great nor fmall trees to be found in "the place where the wood ftood. And fo, my lords, if you "grant the king thefe fmaller monafteries, you do but make "him a handle, whereby, at his own pleafure, he may "cut down all the cedars within your Lebanons." Dr. Bailie's Life of bifhop Fifher, p. 108.

NOTE [I], p. 182.

THERE is a curious paffage with regard to the fuppreffion of monafteries to be found in Coke's Inftitutes, 4th Inft. chap. i. p. 44. It is worth tranfcribing, as it fhews the ideas of the Englifh government, entertained during the reign of Henry VIII. and even in the time of fir Edward Coke, when he wrote his Inftitutes. It clearly appears that the people had then little notion of being jealous of their liberties, were defirous of making the crown quite independent, and wifhed only to remove from themfelves, as much as poffible, the burthens of government. A large ftanding army, and a fixed revenue, would on thefe conditions have been regarded as great bleffings; and it was owing entirely to the prodigality of Henry, and to his little fufpicion that the power of the crown could ever fail,

fail, that the English owe all their present liberty. The title of the chapter in Coke is, *Advice concerning new and plausible Projects and Offers in Parliament.* "When any "plausible project," says he, "is made in parliament, to "draw the lords and commons to assent to any act (especially in matters of weight and importance), if both "houses do give upon the matter projected and promised "their consent, it shall be most necessary, they being "trusted for the commonwealth, to have the matter projected and promised (which moved the houses to consent) "to be established in the same act, lest the benefit of the "act be taken, and the matter projected and promised "never performed, and so the houses of parliament perform not the trust reposed in them, as it fell out (taking "one example for many) in the reign of Henry the Eighth: "On the king's behalf, the members of both houses were "informed in parliament, that no king or kingdom was "safe but where the king had three abilities: 1. To live "of his own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any "sudden invasion or insurrection. 2. To aid his confederates, otherwise they would never assist him. 3. To "reward his well-deserving servants. Now the project "was, that if the parliament would give unto him all the "abbies, priories, friaries, nunneries, and other monasteries, that for ever in time then to come, he would "take order that the same should not be converted to private uses; but first, that his exchequer for the purposes "aforesaid should be enriched; secondly, the kingdom "strengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful captains and "commanders; thirdly, for the benefit and ease of the "subject, who never afterwards (as was projected), in any "time to come, should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids; fourthly, lest "the honour of the realm should receive any diminution "of honour by the dissolution of the said monasteries, "there being twenty-nine lords of parliament of the abbots "and priors (that held of the king *per baroniam*, whereof "more in the next leaf), that the king would create a "number of nobles, which we omit. The said monasteries were given to the king by authority of divers "acts of parliament, but no provision was therein made "for the said project, or any part thereof."

NOTE [K], p. 192.

COLLIER, in his Ecclefiaftical Hiftory, vol. ii. p. 152. has preferved an account which Cromwel gave of this conference, in a letter to fir Thomas Wyat, the king's ambaffador in Germany. "The king's majefty," fays Cromwel, "for the reverence of the holy facrament of "the altar, did fit openly in his hall, and there prefided at "the difputation, procefs and judgment of a miferable "heretic facramentary, who was burned the 20th of No-"vember. It was a wonder to fee how princely, with "how excellent gravity and ineftimable majefty his high-"nefs exercifed there the very office of fupreme head of "the church of England. How benignly his grace effay-"ed to convert the miferable man: How ftrong and ma-"nifeft reafons his highnefs alleged againft him. I wifh "the princes and potentates of Chriftendom to have had a "meet place to have feen it. Undoubtedly they fhould "have much marvelled at his majefty's moft high wifdom "and judgment, and reputed him no otherwife after the "fame, than in a manner the mirror and light of all other "kings and princes in Chriftendom." It was by fuch flatteries that Henry was engaged to make his fentiments the ftandard to all mankind; and was determined to enforce, by the fevereft penalties, his *ftrong* and *manifeft* reafons for tranfubftantiation.

NOTE [L], p. 195.

THERE is a ftory, that the duke of Norfolk, meeting, foon after this act was paffed, one of his chaplains, who was fufpected of favouring the reformation, faid to him, "Now, fir, what think you of the law to hinder "priefts from having wives?" "Yes, my lord," replies the chaplain, "you have done that; but I will anfwer for "it you cannot hinder men's wives from having "priefts."

NOTE [M], p. 210.

TO ſhew how much Henry ſported with law and common ſenſe; how ſervilely the parliament followed all his caprices; and how much both of them were loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame; an act was paſſed this ſeſſion, declaring that a pre-contract ſhould be no ground for annulling a marriage; as if that pretext had not been made uſe of both in the caſe of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. But the king's intention in this law is ſaid to be a deſign of reſtoring the princeſs Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy; and it was his character never to look farther than the preſent object, without regarding the inconſiſtency of his conduct. The parliament made it high treaſon to deny the diſſolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Herbert.

NOTE [N], p. 221.

IT was enacted by this parliament, that there ſhould be trial of treaſon in any county where the king ſhould appoint by commiſſion. The ſtatutes of treaſon had been extremely multiplied in this reign; and ſuch an expedient ſaved trouble and charges in trying that crime. The ſame parliament erected Ireland into a kingdom; and Henry henceforth annexed the title of King of Ireland to his other titles. This ſeſſion the commons firſt began the practice of freeing any of their members who were arreſted, by a writ iſſued by the ſpeaker. Formerly it was uſual for them to apply for a writ from chancery to that purpoſe. This precedent increaſed the authority of the commons, and had afterwards important conſequences. Hollingſhed, p. 955, 956. Baker, p. 289.

NOTE [O], p. 230.

THE perſecutions exerciſed during James's reign are not to be aſcribed to his bigotry, a vice of which he ſeems to have been as free as Francis the Firſt, or the emperor Charles, both of whom, as well as James, ſhewed, in different periods of their lives, even an inclination to the new doctrines. The extremities to which all theſe princes

princes were carried, proceeded entirely from the ſituation of affairs during that age, which rendered it impoſſible for them to act with greater temper or moderation, after they had embraced the reſolution of ſupporting the ancient eſtabliſhments. So violent was the propenſity of the times towards innovation, that a bare toleration of the new preachers was equivalent to a formed deſigned of changing the national religion.

NOTE [P], p. 296.

SPOTSWOOD, p. 75. The ſame author, p. 92. tells us a ſtory which confirms this character of the popiſh clergy in Scotland. It became a great diſpute in the univerſity of St. Andrews, whether the *pater* ſhould be ſaid to God or the ſaints. The friars, who knew in general that the reformers neglected the ſaints, were determined to maintain their honour with great obſtinacy, but they knew not upon what topics to found their doctrine. Some held that the *pater* was ſaid to God *formaliter*, and to ſaints *materialiter*; others, to God *principaliter*, and to ſaints *minus principaliter;* others would have it *ultimate* and *non ultimate:* But the majority ſeemed to hold, that the *pater* was ſaid to God *capiendo ſtricte* and to ſaints *capiendo large*. A ſimple fellow who ſerved the ſub-prior, thinking there was ſome great matter in hand that made the doctors hold ſo many conferences together, aſked him one day what the matter was? the ſub-prior anſwering, *Tom*, that was the fellow's name, *we cannot agree to whom the pater-noſter ſhould be ſaid.* He ſuddenly replied, *To whom, ſir, ſhould it be ſaid, but unto God?* Then ſaid the ſub-prior, *What ſhall we do with the ſaints?* He anſwered, *Give them Aves and Creeds enow in the devil's name; for that may ſuffice them.* The anſwer going abroad, many ſaid, *that he had given a wiſer deciſion than all the doctors had done with all their diſtinctions.*

NOTE [Q], p. 321.

ANOTHER act paſſed this ſeſſion takes notice, in the preamble, that the city of York, formerly well inhabited, was now much decayed; inſomuch that many of the cures could not afford a competent maintenance to the incum-

incumbents. To remedy this inconvenience, the magistrates were empowered to unite as many parishes as they thought proper. An ecclesiastical historian, Collier, vol. ii. p. 230. thinks that this decay of York is chiefly to be ascribed to the dissolution of monasteries, by which the revenues fell into the hands of persons who lived at a distance.

A very grievous tax was imposed this session upon the whole stock and monied interest of the kingdom, and even upon its industry. It was a shilling in the pound yearly, during three years, on every person worth ten pounds or upwards: The double on aliens and denizens. These last, if above twelve years of age, and if worth less than twenty shillings, were to pay eight-pence yearly. Every wether was to pay two-pence yearly; every ewe three-pence. The woollen manufacturers were to pay eight-pence a pound on the value of all the cloth they made. These exorbitant taxes on money are a proof that few people lived on money lent at interest: For this tax amounts to half of the yearly income of all money-holders, during three years, estimating their interest at the rate allowed by law; and was too grievous to be borne, if many persons had been affected by it. It is remarkable, that no tax at all was laid upon land this session. The profits of merchandise were commonly so high, that it was supposed it could bear this imposition. The most absurd part of the laws seems to be the tax upon the woollen manufactures. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 36. The subsequent parliament repealed the tax on sheep and woollen cloth. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. cap. 23. But they continued the other tax a year longer. Ibid.

The clergy taxed themselves at six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. This taxation was ratified in parliament, which had been the common practice since the reformation, implying that the clergy have no legislative power, even over themselves. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 35.

NOTE [R], p. 401.

THE pope at first gave cardinal Pole powers to transact only with regard to the past fruits of the church lands; but being admonished of the danger attending any attempt towards a resumption of the lands, he enlarged the cardinal's powers, and granted him authority to ensure the future possession

possession of the church lands to the present proprietors. There was only one clause in the cardinal's powers that has given occasion for some speculation. An exception was made of such cases as Pole should think important enough to merit the being communicated to the holy see. But Pole simply ratified the possession of all the church lands; and his commission had given him full powers to that purpose. See Harleyan Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 264. 266. It is true some councils have declared, that it exceeds even the power of the pope, to alienate any church lands; and the pope, according to his convenience, or power, may either adhere to or recede from this declaration. But every year gave solidity to the right of the proprietors of church lands, and diminished the authority of the popes; so that men's dread of popery in subsequent times was more founded on party or religious zeal, than on very solid reasons.

NOTE [S], p. 449.

THE passage of Hollingshed, in the Discourse prefixed to his History, and which some ascribe to Harrison, is as follows. Speaking of the increase of luxury: Neither do I speak this in reproach of any man, God is my judge; but to shew that I do rejoice rather to see how God has blessed us with his good gifts, and to behold how that in a time wherein all things are grown to most excessive prices, we do yet find the means to obtain and atchieve such furniture as heretofore has been impossible: There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain, which have noted three things to be marvellously altered in England within their sound remembrance. One is, the multitude of chimnies lately erected; whereas, in their young days, there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses and manor-places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personage); but each made his fire against a reredosse in the hall where he dined and dressed his meat. The second is the great amendment of lodging: For, said they, our fathers, and we ourselves, have lain full oft upon straw pallettes covered only with a sheet under coverlets made of dagswaine or hopharlots (I use their own terms), and a good round log under their head instead

inſtead of a bolſter. If it were ſo, that the father or the good-man of the houſe had a matraſs or flock-bed, and thereto a ſack of chaff to reſt his head upon, he thought himſelf to be as well lodged as the lord of the town: So well were they contented. Pillows, ſaid they, were thought meet only for women in childbed: As for ſervants, if they had any ſheet above them it was well: For ſeldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking ſtraws that ran oft through the canvaſs, and raſed their hardened hides.——The third thing they tell of is, the exchange of Treene platers (*ſo called, I ſuppoſe, from Tree or Wood*) into pewter, and wooden ſpoons into ſilver or tin. For ſo common were all ſorts of treene veſſels in old time, that a man ſhould hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a ſalt) in a good farmer's houſe. *Deſcription of Britain, chap.* x.——*Again in chap.* xvi. In times paſt men were contented to dwell in houſes builded of ſallow, willow, &c.; ſo that the uſe of the oak was in a manner dedicated wholly unto churches, religious houſes, princes palaces, navigation, &c. but now ſallow, &c. are rejected, and nothing but oak any where regarded; and yet ſee the change; for when our houſes were builded of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houſes are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of ſtraw, which is a ſore alteration. In thoſe the courage of the owner was a ſufficient defence to keep the houſe in ſafety; but now the aſſurance of the timber muſt defend the men from robbing. Now have we many chimnies; and yet our tenderlines complain of rheums, catarrhs, and poſes; then had we none but reredoſſes, and our heads did never ache. For as the ſmoke in thoſe days was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient hardening for the timber of the houſe, ſo it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the good-man and his family from the quack or poſe, wherewith, as then, very few were acquainted.——*Again in chap.* xviii. Our pewterers in time paſt employed the uſe of pewter only upon diſhes and pots, and a few other trifles for ſervice; whereas now they are grown into ſuch exquiſite cunning, that they can in manner imitate by infuſion any form or faſhion of cup, diſh, ſalt, or bowl or goblet, which is made by goldſmith's craft, though they be never ſo curious, and very artificially forged. In ſome places beyond the ſea, a garniſh

niſh of good flat Engliſh pewter (I ſay flat, becauſe diſhes and platters in my time begin to be made deep, and like baſons, and are indeed more convenient both for ſauce and keeping the meat warm) is almoſt eſteemed ſo precious as the like number of veſſels that are made of fine ſilver. *If the reader is curious to know the hours of meals in queen Elizabeth's reign, he may learn it from the ſame author.* With us the nobility, gentry, and ſtudents, do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to ſupper at five, or between five and ſix at afternoon. The merchants dine and ſup ſeldom before twelve at noon and ſix [illegible]ight, eſpecially in London. The huſbandmen dine alſ[illegible]gh noon as they call it, and ſup at ſeven or eight: but [illegible] of term in our univerſities the ſcholars dine at ten.

Fr[illegible]ſſart mentions waiting on the duke of Lancaſter at five o'clock in the afternoon, when he had ſupped. Theſe hours are ſtill more early. It is hard to tell, why, all over the world, as the age becomes more luxurious, the hours become later. Is it the crowd of amuſements that puſh on the hours gradually? or are the people of faſhion better pleaſed with the ſecrecy and ſilence of nocturnal hours, when the induſtrious vulgar are all gone to reſt? In rude ages, men have few amuſements or occupations but what day-light affords them.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL